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ART. I.—OLD PLACES IN MURSHIDABAD.

No. III.

I THOUGHT that I had seen all the antiquities of Murshidabad, but in September last Moulvi Fazl Rabbi, the Diwan of the Nawab Bahadur, showed me what is, perhaps, the greatest curiosity in the district. This is the masnad, or throne, used by the Viceroys of Bengal from the days of Sultan Sujah, the second son of Shah Jahan. It is a round table of black stone (hornblende), six feet in diameter and eighteen inches high, the whole, including the four thick pedestals, having been hewn out of one block. The edge or rim is cut into sixteen facets, and on one of them is the following inscription:—

تیار شد تخت مبارک به تاریخ بیست و هفتم شهر شعبان المعظم
۱۰۵۲ باتمام کمترین بندها خواجه نزر بخاری فی مقام منگیر
من صوبہ بہار *

"This auspicious throne was made at Monghyr in Bihar by the humblest of slaves, Khwajah Nazar, of Bokhara, on 27th Shabán, 1052* (11th November, 1641.)" It belongs, therefore, to Sultan Sujah's first viceroyalty (1639-47) and must originally have been kept at Rajmahal, or Akbarnagar, as the Muhammadans called it, and afterwards taken to Dacca and to Murshidabad. It now stands, exposed to wind and weather, on the terrace of a bungalow near Murshidabad, and on the right hand side of the road from Berhampore. The place is a garden of the Nawab and is called the Mubarak-Munzil, but it is also known in the neighbourhood by the name of Fendal, or Findal, Bagh. This is probably after a John Fendall who was a Judge of the Sadr Diwani in 1817-19. In 1819 he was Chief Judge, and he remained so until the following year, when he became Member of Council.

* The last figure is doubtful, and may be a 4 or a 5 as well as a 2.

I presume that he was formerly a Judge of the Provincial Court of Murshidabad, though I cannot find his name in the Records of the District Judge's Court. The Provincial Court used to be held in Fendalbagh, and a building there is still called the Cutcherry.

There are some holes near the edge of the throne for the insertion of the supports of a canopy. The stone may be compared with the so-called black marble throne of Jahangir, which stands on the terrace of Shah Jahan's palace at Agra, and has been described by Mr. Carlleyle.* The latter is rectangular and much the larger of the two, it being 10 feet 7½ inches by 9 feet 10 inches, so that it is nearly a square. It is sixteen inches high, and I have been told that the whole is cut out of one block. There is a long inscription running round the four sides, and the date there given has been read as 1011, or 1603. But I think there must be some mistake, for the inscription speaks of king (Shah) Selim and of his adoption of the title of Jahangir. But his accession to the throne did not take place till 1014, or 1605. Both stones have reddish stains on them, due to the presence of iron, and the Murshidabad one sometimes sweats so much, that the water trickles over the edge. Then the stone is weeping, according to the natives, for the passing away of the glory of the Subahdari!

The Diwan also showed me, in some jungle at Chunakhali, the tomb of Masnad Auliya, and near it a stone, lying on the ground, with a Taghra inscription, which unfortunately we have not yet been able to decipher.† It, however, certainly contains the name of Abul Muzaffar Feroz Sultan, which was the title of one of the kings of Gaur.

I am also indebted to the Diwan for rubbings of the inscription on a cannon in the Palace Armoury. The language turns out to be Bengali. The inscription has been deciphered by Babu Soshi Sikhar Dutt, Deputy Magistrate. It gives the names of the smith, the engraver, and makes mention of Krishna Chandra Rai, the Maharajah of Krishnagar.

GHERIA.—Gheria, properly. Giriah,‡ has been the scene of two decisive battles. This points to a similarity of position

* Archæological Reports, IV, 131-5.

† The inscription has since been read. The date is 2 Maharam 896, = 15 November 1490.

‡ Possibly the English called it Gheria from a recollection of the stronghold of the pirate Angria. But there, too, the "h" was probably wrong, for the name is seemingly derived from *giri*, a mountain, and I observe that Ives spells it Geriah. Col. Malleon remarks, apropos of the spelling, Monghyr, that the superfluous introduction of the letter h is a common failing with certain classes of Englishmen. But the insertion of the letter h in the cases in question has nothing to do with cockneyism. It is put in in order to mark that the letter 'g' is hard.

between it and Panipat. Both were extensive plains on the northern approach to a capital.

The first battle was fought near the end of April, 1740, between Aliverdi Khan Mahabat Jung, and Sarfaraz Khan, and ended in the defeat and death of the latter. The second was fought on 2nd August, 1763, between the English under Major Adams, and the troops of Mir Qasim, commanded by Sumroo and Marcar, the Armenian. Mir Qasim's troops were defeated and took refuge at Udwa Nála * in the Sonthal Pergunnas, where they were again defeated on the 5th September.

But though the two battles have the same name, they were not fought on the same spot. Sarfaraz's battle took place two or three miles to the east of the second one, and on a different side of the river. The place has now been washed away, but it was near the hamlets of Mamintola and Sib Narainpur on the east, or left, bank of the Bhagirathi. Ghaus Khan's tomb, or dargah, used to be in Chandpur, on the east side of the river; but both tomb and hamlet were washed away some thirty years ago. The tomb, however, has been re-erected on the west side of the river, in what is also called Chandpur village. Near it there is a new Mamintola. An old man, a descendant of the original Khadim, is in charge of the tomb, and points out three mounds as representing the graves of Ghaus Khan and his two sons, Kutab and Babar. He is aware of the story that Ghaus Khan's body was removed to Bhagalpur, but he says that the bodies of the sons were not removed. †

Major Adams' victory was gained on the right bank of the Bhagirathi, near the mouth of the Banslai. Properly speaking, therefore, it did not occur in Giriah, for that village seems always to have been on the east bank. It is true that Orme describes the plain of Giriah as being on the west (or right) bank of the Kassimbazar river, *i. e.* the Bhagirathi, and that in this he is supported by Rennell, who puts Giriah Plain, with the date 1742, on the west side, and Giriah village on the east side. But this is unlikely, and the date 1742 is wrong, if the reference be to Sarfaraz's battle: Tieffen-

* The Statistical Account of Bengal describes Giriah as the last pitched battle fought in Bengal Proper. But Udwa is also in Bengal Proper, being south of Rajmahal and South-East of the passes of Sakragali and Teliagarhi. Perhaps, however, the writer does not regard this as a pitched battle, and it was, in fact a surprise.

† I am indebted for this and other information about Giriah to Babu Nabu Kumar Chakravarti, the Sub-divisional officer of Jangipur. He explains the discrepancies about the position of Giriah, by showing that there are two Giriahs; the village of that name, on the east bank, and Taraf Giriah, which is a tract of country in pargana Shamaskhali, and includes nine villages, of which six are on the east or left bank, and three on the west or right bank.

thaler puts Giriah on the east side only. Orme's authority is not of much weight, for he describes Giriah as being about five miles to the north of Murshidabad, whereas it is nearly thirty miles away. Adams' victory should more properly be called the battle of Suti, and it is so designated in the Siyar. The battle has been described by Captain Broome and Colonel Malleon, and from their accounts it appears that it was fought in the angle formed by the left bank of the Banslai* and the right bank of the Bhagirathi. Mir Quasim's troops abandoned their strong position at Suti and came out on the plain to fight the English. It strikes one as a curious instance of supineness on their part, that they allowed Major Adams to throw a bridge over the Banslai.† Perhaps they were confident of victory, and only wanted to catch the English in a place from which they could not retreat. But after Plassey no native General should have had reliance on mere superiority in numbers.

The Survey Map marks the site of the battle as on the left bank of the Bhagirathi, at a place called Lal Khan Diara. There has been so much diluviation and re-formation, that this identification may possibly be correct, but if so, the site has shifted from one side of the river to the other, for the Banslai‡ must always have been on the right bank of the Bhagirathi. Major Adams crossed the Bhagirathi near Murshidabad on 27th July § and marched up the right bank, just as Coote did when he made his wonderful chase of Law in the rains of 1757.

The battle of 1740 is described at great length in the "Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal," || translated by Gladwin, and in the Riyz-us-Salatin, which in this place appears to be merely a copy of Gladwin's Persian original. Neither of them gives the date, and the omission is not fully supplied by the Siyar, which merely says that Sarfaráz arrived at Khamrah on 22 Moharam (9th April), and that the battle was fought about a couple of days before the middle of Safar: this gives the 27th, or 28th, April as the approximate date of the battle. Local tradition says the battle was fought on a Tuesday morning.¶ Sarfaraz was slow to believe that Aliverdi had any hostile intentions, and he did not bestir himself till the news came to Murshidabad that Aliverdi had passed through the defiles of Teliyagarhi ** and Sakragali, and had

* Also called the Phálgu or Phaggu. Tieffenthaler calls it the Pahar.
† Broome, 377.

‡ Babu N. K. Chakravarti informs me that the mouth of the Banslai was $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of its present embouchure.

§ Broome, 375. || Calcutta, 1787. ¶ This gives the date as 26 April.

** As Aliverdi was Governor of Behar, and had no concern with Bengal, Teliyagarhi was to him what the Rubicon was to Cæsar. It was fortified, as well as Sakragali, but both places were probably more important as gates and boundary marks than as obstacles to invaders. They could always be turned by marching a little way inland, and they could hardly stop the passage of boats—at least, not during the night.

arrived at Rajmahal. He thereupon dispatched some troops under Ghaus Khan and Sharafuddin to check Aliverdi's further progress, and marched out with his main army a few days afterwards. He went by the north road, and his first encampment was at Bamania, his second at Diwan Serai, and his third at Khamrah Serai.* Here he discovered, it is said, that Aliverdi's elder brother, Haji Ahmed, and the Haji's relative, Shahriar, who was darogah, or commander of the artillery, had substituted bricks and clods for cannon-balls. The Haji had been released before this, and had gone to join his brother at Rajmahal,† but Shahriar was superseded, and the charge of the artillery given to Panchu Feringhi, a son of Antony, a Portuguese physician. Meanwhile Aliverdi had advanced as far as Suti‡ and his camp extended from Aurangabad to Charka Belghatta. §

According to Gladwin's Persian author, and his copyist the author of the Riyaz, Sarfaraz made an attack on Aliverdi on the fourth day after his leaving Murshidabad, the day and hour having been pronounced favourable by his astrologers. It is said, too, that the attack would have been successful, but for the treacherous advice of the Rai Rayan, Alam Chand, who recommended that the troops should be retired, as they were becoming exhausted by the heat of the sun. The Siyar, however, says nothing about this preliminary battle, and it is likely enough that the story is apocryphal.

The delay in giving battle was due to negotiations for peace. By what seems an extraordinary blunder, Sarfaraz released Haji Ahmed and sent him to his brother. Haji Ahmed had undertaken to make his brother return to Rajmahal, and, according to one account, he satisfied his conscience and his brother's, by making the latter turn his elephant's head and march a few yards towards Rajmahal. Aliverdi, too, is said to have misled Sarfaraz and his ambassadors, by saying that he had no wish to fight. He even affected to swear on the Koran

* This is an old place and is marked as "Camera" in Broucke's map. circiter 1661.

† Sayar I, 359.

‡ The Mohanna Suti of some writers, being so called, because it used to be the place where the Bhagirathi emerged from the Padma. The Riyaz, p. 311, notices that Suti contains the tomb of Shah Martaza, and in the Itinerary from Bengal to Lassa of Father Georgi, quoted in Tieffenthaler III, 204, &c., we find at p. 206 Mortousahanadi (a) put down as the station, instead of Suti. I presume that Suti is connected with Sota, a stream.

§ Perhaps this is Balighata, marked on the map about five miles west of Suti Police Station. There is, however, a village of Charka marked on the map south of Jangipur, and Balighatta is the name of the northern extremity of Raghunathganj.

(a) Apparently a corruption of the full name Shah Martazanand.

that he would come next day and throw himself at Sarfaraz's feet and beg for forgiveness. But, with a petty fraud, which may remind us of the alleged duplicity of Harold, he substituted* for the Koran, or the glorious volume, as the author of the *Siyar* calls it, a brick wrapped up in cloth of gold. Sarfaraz, we are told, was completely deceived, and ordered his Bakawal, or clerk of the kitchen, to prepare a banquet for the following day. By this time he had left Khamrah and was encamped at Giriah on the banks of the Bhagirathi, while his advance guard, under Mahommed Ghaus Khan and Mir Sharafuddin, was encamped on the further, or western, side, † *i. e.* the same side as Suti, where Aliverdi was encamped. In the night time Ghaus Khan and Sharafuddin came to know that Aliverdi was preparing for battle, and they repaired to Sarfaraz's tent and informed him. But he would not believe them, and dismissed them with harsh words, accusing them of trying to prejudice him against Aliverdi, whom he called his well-wisher. Aliverdi moved out of his camp at about 2 A. M. He divided his forces into two bodies. One he placed under Nanda Lal to oppose Ghaus Khan and Sharafuddin, and in order to deceive them, he left with it his elephant, his standard, and his kettledrum. He then, with his Afghans and other choice troops, marched across the Bhagirathi to attack Sarfaraz. They were guided by the harkaras (spies) of Ramkant, the Zamindar of Rajshahye (of the Nattore family). Sarfaraz was at his prayers when Aliverdi approached him, but he immediately jumped up on his elephant, taking, it is said, his Koran in his hand, and advanced against the enemy. He went on with great courage, and discharged a quiverful of arrows against the foe. But his General, Mardan Ali Khan, and the bulk of his troops gave way, and there were none left except a few personal servants and some Abyssinians. ‡ The mahout saw that the day was lost, and offered to take his master across the Bhagirathi to Badi-az-Zaman ||, the Zamindar

* A similar story is told of Hyder Ali.—*Beveridge's History of India*, II, 251.

† Gladwin and the *Riyaz* speak of the Giriah Nala, but this seems to be merely another name for the Bhagirathi, which must at that season have contained very little water, and been nearly fordable. See the account in the *Siyar*. Possibly however the Gobrakhal is meant, as this is marked in Rennell's map of Cossimbazar island, as flowing between Khamrah and Giriah, and falling into the Bhagirathi.

‡ I stated in a previous article that Jangipur is a corruption of Jahangirpur. But it has been suggested to me that the name is really Zangipur, *i. e.* city of Zangis, or Abyssinians. The common pronunciation of the name as Zangipur is in favour of this view, and so also is the fact that it is spelt Zangipur in Tieffenthaler, II, 524.

|| There is an account of this family in Appendix D and F to Hunter's *Rural Annals of Bengal*. It is curious that the author of the *Siyar* calls

of Birbhum. Sarfaraz replied by striking him on the neck, and saying: "I shall never show my back to those dogs." The mahout therefore advanced still further, and Sarfaraz soon received a bullet in his forehead and was killed. Meanwhile Ghaus Khan and Sharafuddin had been successful against Nanda Lal and had killed him. They then turned to attack Aliverdi, but they were overpowered, and Ghaus Khan and his two sons, Mahammed Kutab and Mahammed Pir,* were slain. The accounts differ about Panchu Feringhi. According to the Riyaz, he was slain on the field, and according to Gladwin, he escaped to Murshidabad. One touching incident occurred at the close of the fight:—

"Bijai Singh, a Rajput, who commanded the rear of Sarfaraz Khan's army, was encamped at Khamrah. When he heard from the fugitives the fate of the battle, he galloped on with only a few horse-men, and penetrating the ranks of the enemy, aimed a spear at Aliverdi Khan. But Diwan Ali, the darogah of the artillery, shot him immediately with a matchlock. Zalim Singh, his son, who was only nine years old, placed himself over the corpse with his drawn sword. Aliverdi Khan was highly pleased with the boy, and after commending his valour and piety, ordered that his father's body should be burned, according to the custom of their religion."

The Riyaz adds the picturesque touch, that the artillery colonels (hazarian) carried off the boy on their shoulders. Alam Chand, the Rai Rayan, was wounded in the right hand by a bullet and flung himself into the river. He was taken out and conveyed to Murshidabad; but there, it is said, he committed suicide by swallowing diamond dust.†

The Statistical Account of Bengal ends its description of the battle by saying that "an Urdu poem celebrates the victory, in which the result of the fight is mainly attributed to the miraculous valour of Ghias Khan, the General of Aliverdi, who lost his life on the field. Aliverdi built a *dargah* over his valiant soldier's tomb, and the spot is still known as Ghias Khan's Dargah."

This is an unfortunate passage. The General's name was Ghaus, or Ghose, and not Ghias, and he fought against Aliverdi, and not for him. A dargah was built, but it is not very likely that Aliverdi erected it. According to the Siyar, it did not long contain the bodies of Ghaus Khan and his two sons. One Shah Haidar, a saint and a collateral ancestor of Gholam Hossein, the author of the Siyar, was a great friend of Ghaus

Badi-az-Zaman's wife by the title of Rani, and that his translator explains this by saying that the family was originally Hindu and of the Rajput caste. Siyar, II, 157. In Hunter, Appendix F, they are styled Rajahs.

* The Riyaz calls him Babar.

† This story is almost certainly false, for diamond dust is not poisonous except from its mechanical action. In the Baroda case the diamond dust was mixed with arsenic.

Khan and had converted him to Shiism. When he heard of his friend's death he went to Murshidabad and loaded Aliverdi with reproaches, "which he bore patiently, nor did there come any word from that prince's mouth, but such as savoured humility and submission." Shah Haidar then went to Giriah and dug up the bodies of Ghaus Khan and his sons and companions, and took them to Bhagalpur, where he re-interred them.* Nor does there appear to be any Urdu poem in celebration of the victory. I have received from Babu Nabu Kumar Chakrabartti, the Sub-divisional officer of Jangipur, a Bengali song about the battle which used to be chaunted on the days before Muhammedans became Ferazis and consequently puritanical. It celebrates Ghaus Khan's solitary prowess against Aliverdi. I give the first five lines.

হায় গো আল্লা বারিতালা খোয়াব দিল রেতে ।
 গোয়াস খাঁর হবে লড়াই আলিবদ্দীর সাথে ।
 হাতি পরে তুলতুলিতে ঘোড়া পরে রণে ।
 আচক মাইর পরিল এসে গিরিয়ার ময়দানে ।
 একেলা গোস খাঁ লড়ে আলিবদ্দীর সনে ।

It appears from the Siyar † that Ghaus Khan's widow was worthy of him, for when, two or three years afterwards, the Mahrattas were plundering Bhagalpur, she defended her house against them, and so impressed the Mahratta General, Balaji Rao, that he, *mirabile dictu*, protected her from insult and did not allow her to be plundered.

"He was astonished to find so much daringness in a woman; and not content with praising her resolution, he sent her a kind message, which he accompanied with a present of some curious stuffs of the Deccan, and some curious brocades. And to put her house and quarter out of all danger, he sent a detachment of his bodyguard to take charge of it, with orders not to stir from thence, until the whole army should be gone and far off. He added that they would answer to him for any insult that she might suffer. After giving this order he continued his route by the hilly country, and the guards having strictly executed their orders, took a respectful leave of the heroine and joined their main body." ‡

Sarfaraz's faithful mahout conveyed his body to Murshidabad, and there it was buried darkly and at dead of night in the palace at Nakhtahali. The grave is still there amidst the jungle, but there is no tomb, and the spot is only known to a few. ‡ Aliverdi did not immediately enter the city. He halted at Gobrah, and sent his brother in advance.

* Siyar, I, 701.

† Syar I. 454.

‡ It is about 150 yards south of his mother's mosque and in a deserted garden. The date on the mosque is 1136 (1724).

Such was the end of Sarfaraz, and of the line of Murshid Quli ! There is no reason to regret his fate, for he was an incompetent ruler, and could never have made head against the Mahrattas in the way that Aliverdi did. Aliverdi's character was by no means perfect. His revolt against Sarfaraz, and his treacherous massacre of the Mahratta Generals at Mankara, cannot be excused, even if we suggest that the latter might be a sort of retaliation for the murder of Afzal Khan by Sivaji in the previous century. But he was the best ruler, perhaps, that Bengal ever had, and there was at times a delicacy and chivalry about him, which was, perhaps, hardly to be expected in one who was by birth a Tartar. His conduct to Sarfaraz's family, and to the wife and daughters of Shamsheer Khan, even after he had been cruelly wronged by that Afghan General, are memorable instances of these qualities. None the less it must be admitted that his biography exhibits the weakness of personal government. Like King David and Edward III., he fell into dotage near the end of his life, and chose Sirajuh-ud-daulah for his successor, after having spoiled him by excessive indulgence. On a small scale the mistake was of as evil consequence as that committed by Marcus Aurelius when he left the Roman world to the mercy of Commodus. And it was perhaps less excusable, for Aliverdi Khan knew his grandson's viciousness, while perhaps Marcus Aurelius did not know Commodus' faults. This example, as well as others, shows how little regarded was the fine Muhammedan maxim, that "whoever appoints a person to the discharge of any office, whilst there is another among his subjects more qualified for the same than the person so appointed, does surely commit an injury with respect to the rights of God, the Prophet, and the Musalmans." J. S. Mill quotes* this as occurring in the Koran, but I suspect that it does not occur there. He probably got the quotation from his father's history, and there † it is given as coming from the Hidaya.

Sarfaraz, or more properly Sarafraz, *i. e.* of sublime or exalted head, was the grandson of Murshid Quli Khan by his daughter Zinat-an-Nissa Begam. ‡ Another name of Sarfaraz was Mirza Asad-daula. His grandfather, foreseeing that there might be a difficulty about the succession, and knowing that, according to the custom of the Empire, his savings were liable to confiscation at his death, and that, as the Persian writer expresses it, not even a winding sheet might be left to him, re-

* Essay on Liberty.

† I. 643.

‡ The Siyar calls her in one place Nafisah Begam, but it appears that Nafisah Begam, or Khanam, was really her daughter and the sister of Sarfaraz. After her brother's death she was received into the family of the benevolent Nowazish Ahmed, the eldest son of Haji Ahmed. She adopted him as her son, and superintended his household, and was treated by him with great respect.

solved to make a provision for Sarfaraz, so as to put him beyond the reach of actual want. For this purpose he bought, with the income of his own fief (Jaghir), the zamindari of Murshidabad in Kismat Chunakhali, parganas Kalharia, in Sarfaraz's name, from the taluqdar, and had it registered in the books of the exchequer and of the Kanungo under the description of Asadnagar. This seems to be the origin of the small pargana of Asadnagar.

Murshid Quli did not like his son-in-law Shuja-ud-daula, on account of his infidelity to Zinat-an-Nissa, and for other reasons, and so he tried to pass him over and to procure the succession to the Subahdari for Sarfaraz. But Shuja intrigued against him and was successful in obtaining the patent. Sarfaraz, who seems to have been a well disposed youth, yielded to his father, and always treated him with respect. Unfortunately for himself, he had not the abilities or the force of character either of his grandfather or of his mother. The latter is described as a pattern of virtue, and of so high a spirit, that, when Aliverdi was nominated by her husband to the government of Bihar, she assumed the right of ratifying the appointment, sent for Aliverdi, and, presenting him with a robe of honour, conferred upon him the government as if from herself. "And it was only after this investiture, that Shuja Khan himself sent for him and presented him, on his part also, with the *khilat* of the Deputyship, or Niabut, of Azimabad (Patna)."

Shuja Khan seems to have had many good qualities, and in particular to have been very good natured, and also a lover of justice. But he marred them by his dissoluteness. Perhaps the daughter of Murshid Quli was too much of a Romola to be a pleasant companion for an easy going gentleman.

It is worth noting that the two greatest Nawabs of Bengal, Murshid Quli and Aliverdi, * were strict monogamists. Mir Qasim, who resembled them in industry and in ability for affairs, but had not their martial qualities, had, according to the Siyar, a vast number of women ; but he kept them for show only, and in conformity with the custom of Indian princes. So, after the battle of Suti, "these being not for his use, and serving only to encumber his motions, were all set at liberty, with full permission to dispose of themselves," and only his chief wife, *viz.*, the daughter of Mir Jaffar, and a few other ladies, were sent to Rohtas.

Sarfaraz had 1,500 † women in his haram, and Siraj-ud-daula had also a large number of concubines. It was women

* Unfortunately Aliverdi's daughters did not walk in his footsteps, and were as licentious as the daughters of Charlemagne.

† According to one version the number was 15,000 !

and not wine that destroyed these young men, and that clouded the virtues of Shuja Khan. On the other hand, the Mogul princes, *e. g.* Babar and Akbar's sons and grandsons, seem to have been chiefly victims to drink. Part of this difference may have been due to climate and race, but some part, doubtless, was owing to the Bengal Nawabs being better Muhammadans than the half-Hindu princes of Delhi. Both Sarfaraz and Sirajah-ud-Daula were pious Masalmans. Sarfaraz, says the Siyar, proved to be "only a pious man addicted to the practices of devotion, and extremely regular in his stated prayers; he fasted three full months, besides the blessed month of the Ramzan, and was scrupulous in the discharge of the several duties prescribed throughout the year; but at the same time he proved extremely deficient in that keenness of discernment, and that extent of mind, so indispensably necessary in a sovereign prince; his soul wholly engrossed by those little practices of religion, he did not pay sufficient attention to the affairs of State." This is the account given by a relative and a brother Shiah. Gladwin's Persian author, who was a Sunni, is more outspoken. He says that all that could be said in Sarfaraz's favour was that he was not a drunkard. He adds that he daily repeated the Dua Saifi, or prayers for the destruction of enemies, but, neglecting to lead a good life, the blessings he sought for were converted into curses. But, though it is clear that Sarfaraz's religion did not save him from immorality, any more than similar piety kept James II chaste, none of the native authorities, so far as I know, mentions Orme's story about the insult to Jagat Set's daughter-in-law.

Siraj-ud-daula was also very religious and built an Imambara with a medina containing earth brought from the Karbala. He used to drink, but he gave up this habit, in accordance with a promise which he made to Aliverdi on his death bed.

Sarfaraz succeeded his father in March, 1739. At that time Nadir Shah was in possession of Delhi, and sent a letter to Shuja Khan, which arrived after his death, and was received by Sarfaraz. At the instigation, it is said, of the Rai Rayan and Haji Ahmed, Sarfaraz acknowledged Nadir Shah and struck coins in his name, and had his name mentioned in the Khutba. He also sent him tribute. Afterwards these things were made a handle of by Aliverdi and Haji Ahmed, in order to discredit Sarfaraz with Muhammad Shah.

KASIMBAZAR RESIDENCY.—In the Hastings MSS. in the British Museum, vol. 29,209, there is a long account of the capture of the Kasimbazar Residency. It does not appear who wrote it, and the copy is by some illiterate person. There are, in the same volume, two accounts of the siege and capture

of Calcutta. The name of the author of the first one is not given, but the second account was written by Captain Grant, acting Adjutant General. I give below the narrative of the taking of Kasimbazar. I am indebted for it to my brother.

The paper begins with an account of Siraj-ud-daulah's accession, his ill treatment of his aunt, Ghasiti Begam, and his quarrel with the English. It then proceeds as follows :—

On Monday, 24 May 1756, in the afternoon, Omar Beg, a Jamadar with his forces, about 3,000 horse, came to Kasimbazar by order of the Nawab. On 25th, 200 horse and some barkandazes reinforced him in the morning, and in the evening he was joined by two elephants and another body of forces, when he endeavoured to force his way in at the factory gate. But he was prevented by the Serjeant of the Guards calling the soldiers to arms, who, fixing their bayonets, kept the gateway. The Jamadar, finding he could not get in by surprise, told them he was not come to fight. The Chief (Mr. Watts) did his utmost to provide a quantity of provisions and water, during which he met with frequent obstructions. Upon more forces advancing, orders were given to load all the great guns with grape and round shot, and to keep a good look out the whole night.

27th May. The drums and 8 o'clock gun silenced, and the gate kept shut, which before was always kept open the whole day, and upon the enemy's forces daily increasing, Dr. Forth was sent to the Jamadar to know the Nawab's intentions, which, he informed them, were to attack the factory unless Mr. Watts went to him and signed such articles as he required. The Munshi, or Persian interpreter, brought Mr. Watts the same intelligence. At this time all provisions and water were entirely stopped, of which there was a great want, particularly of the former, as there were a great number of women, children, slaves and unnecessary persons in the Factory, our complement of men consisting of 35 Europeans, and as many black soldiers, with a few lascars; Messrs. William Watts, Collet and Batson of Council, and Messrs. Sykes, H. Watts and Chambers, writers. Lieutenant Elliot commanded the artillery, as likewise the military, having his son under him as a volunteer.

As it was apprehended the Nawab had no other intent than which the former Nawabs had had, viz., to stop the Company's business till his demands were complied with, by extorting a sum of money, letters were addressed him, wrote in the most submissive terms, to desire to know in what particulars the English had given him offence. But no other reply was sent than that they must pull down their fortifications, newly built at Perrin's* and the octagon summer house of Mr. Kelsall, (which he had also took for a fortification by a parcel of shells having been proved there from time to time,) both places adjoining and within a league of Calcutta.

By this time there was near 50,000 men round the factory, and 70 or 80 pieces of cannon planted against it on the opposite side the river, but not near enough to do any execution.

1st June.—Radhaballabh † came to speak with Mr. Watts, and brought with him three Jamadars, who all advised him to go to the Nawab himself, and that everything might be very easily accommodated. Upon which, he was weak enough to inform them, that if the

* The fortification called Perring's Point, and which was situated at what is now the mouth of the Baliaghatta, or Circular Canal, in Chitpore.

† Orme calls him Rai Dulub. He was the Diwan.

Nawab would send him a Beetle * as a token for his safety and security, he would very willingly, and with pleasure, wait on him. Whereupon Radhaballabh took leave and went away, and soon after brought him a Beetle on a silver dish from the Nawab (at least, as he informed him) and in the evening (of) 2nd June, Mr. Watts and Dr. Forth went to the Nawab in company with Hakim Beg's son, though the Military for a long time endeavoured to persuade him to the contrary, nay, even refused to let him go out of the factory. Upon Mr. Watts' going before the Nawab with his hands across, and a handkerchief wrapt round his wrists, signifying himself his slave and prisoner (this he was persuaded to do by Hakim Beg, Radhabullabh and others, who assured him it might be a means of pacifying the Nawab, his appearing before him in abject submissive manner), he abused him very much and ordered him to be taken out of his sight. But Hakim Beg's son telling the Nawab he was a good sort of a man and intending on hearing of his arrival from Rajmahal to have come and embraced his footsteps (hath bandh ke sahib ka qadambos karna), he ordered him to Hakim Beg's tent, where he signed a Mochalka, and (was) made to send for Messrs. Collet and Batson for the same purpose. But on their arrival they were all three confined. The purport of the Mochalka was nearly as follows, viz.

To destroy the Redoubt, &c., newly built at Perrin's near Calcutta.

To deliver up any of his subjects that should fly to us for protection (to evade justice) on his demanding such subject.

To give an account of the dastaks for several years past, and to pay a sum of money that should be agreed on, for the bad use made of them, to the great prejudice of his revenues.

And lastly, to put a stop to the Zamindar's † extensive power, to the great prejudice of his subjects.

The 4th June.—Mr. Collet was sent back to Kasimbazar to deliver up the factory to the Nawab, which was punctually put in execution with all the guns, arms and ammunition, notwithstanding the soldiers were against it, and congratulated his return with the respect due only to a Chief, by drawing up in two lines for him to pass through.

June 5th.—Mr. Batson was sent back to Kasimbazar and Mr. Collet demanded, when Mr. Watts and he were informed they must get ready to go with the Nawab to Calcutta. This morning upon opening the factory gates, the enemy immediately entered in great numbers and demanded the keys of the godowns, both public and private. They no sooner took possession of the arms and ammunition, but they behaved in a most insolent manner, threatening the gentlemen to cut off their ears, slit their noses, chabuck them, with other punishments, in order to extort confession and compliance from them. This behaviour of theirs lasted till the 8th, when Lieutenant Elliot, having secreted a pair of pistols, shot himself through the head. The gentlemen's surprise was so great, that they instantly sent and informed the Diwan of what had passed, thinking by that means to procure themselves better treatment. He was then searching and examining the soldiers' boxes and chests in order to return to them their clothes and apparel. But on hearing this news, he ordered all the Europeans out of the factory, and put them under a strong guard at Mr. Collet's house, where they all remained that night, except Messrs. Sykes and Batson, who happily found means to make their escape and get to the French factory.

The 9th.—All the prisoners were sent to Muxadavad Cutcherry

* This is not a scarabæus, but a pân or bíra (Piper betel).

† This must mean the Zemindar of Calcutta, viz., Mr. Holwell.

and put in irons, where they remained ; except (that) after 15 days confinement, Messrs. H. Watts and Chambers were permitted to go to either the French or Dutch factories, provided those gentlemen would give a receipt for them, to be responsible for their appearance when demanded by the Nawab.

The 10th July.—The military were set at liberty. As for the two gentlemen^o who were sent to the Aurangs from Kasimbazar, they were also released about the same time, but plundered, as those at the factory were, of everything they had.

The factory is situated close to the river side, and consists of four bastions† mounting each 10 guns, nine and six pounders, also two eighteen pounders to defend the gateway, and a line of 22 guns, mostly field pieces, towards the water side. Some time before Kasimbazar was attacked (but preparations only making for it) Mr. Watts acquainted the Governor and Council that he was told from the Darbar, by order of the Nawab, that he had great reason to be dissatisfied with the late conduct of the English in general. Besides he had heard they were building new fortifications near Calcutta without ever applying to him or consulting him about it, which he by no means approved of, for he looked upon us only as a Sett of Merchants, and therefore if we chose to reside in his dominions under that denomination we were extremely welcome, but as Prince of the Country he forthwith insisted on the demolition of all those new buildings we had made. The Nawab at the same time sent to the President and Council, Fuckeer Tougarr‡ with a message much to the same purport, which as they did not intend to comply with, looking upon it as a most unprecedented demand, treated the messenger with a great deal of ignominy and turned him out of their bounds without any answer at all ; upon which a second messenger was sent to Mr. Drake to this effect, that unless upon receipt of that order, he did not immediately begin and pull down those fortifications, he would come down himself and throw him in the river. This messenger was treated as ridiculously as the other, and an answer sent agreeable thereto, as likewise by a messenger that was sent some time before to demand the delivery up of Kissendasseat. In the meantime we received intelligence that Cossimbazar factory was surrounded with a large body of forces and a great quantity of cannon, but the Council were determined not to submit to the terms proposed, accordingly directed the Chief at Cossimbazar to make the best defence he could, and promised him succours as soon as the season would admit of it.

The 7th June.—Advice early in the morning was received at Calcutta of the loss of Cossimbazar factory, and that the Nawab was upon full march, with all his forces, for Fort William. The same day orders were sent to the Chiefs of Dacca, Jagdea and Ballasore to withdraw and quit their factorys with what effects they could secure, and the Governor, by beat of drum, caused all the inhabitants of Calcutta fit to bear arms to be assembled in order to form a body of Militia, which was accordingly done.

The following remarks on the capture of Kasimbazar are from Captain Grant's paper :—

“The surrender of Kasimbazar on the 4th June by the Chief's being decoyed under many specious pretences to visit the Nawab in the

^o Doubtless Hastings was one of them.

† There is a rough plan of the fort in Tieffenthaler I, 453, plate XXXI.

‡ Fakhar Tajar, (properly Fakhr-ul-Tajar), the glory of merchants, a title, I believe, of the Armenian merchant Khwaja Wajid, on account of his salt monopoly.

camp before that place, and on his being made prisoner, induced to deliver it up, you must be informed of ere now, we having despatched Patamars (couriers) as soon as we received the news on the 7th.

We may justly impute all our misfortunes to the loss of that place, as it not only supplied our enemies with artillery and ammunition of all kinds, but flushed them with hopes of making as easy a conquest of our chief settlement, not near so defensible in its then circumstances. Kasimbazar is an irregular square with solid bastions, each mounting 10 guns, mostly nine and six lbs., with a saluting battery on the curtain to the riverside of 24 guns, from 2 to 4 lbs., and their carriages, when I left the place in October last, in pretty good order. Besides, 8 Cohorn mortars, 4 and 5 inches, with a store of shells and grenades. Their garrison consisted of 50 military under the command of Lieutenant Elliot, a Serjeant, Corporal and 3 Matrossy (sic) of the artillery and 20 good lascars. The ramparts are seen by two houses which lay within 20 yards of the walls, but as each is commanded by 5 guns from the bastions, the enemy could hardly keep possession of them."

The above account is fuller and more accurate than that given by Orme. No doubt the surrender of Kasimbazar was a great blow. The news reached Calcutta on 7th June, and on the 16th idem, the Nawab made his attack on Perring's redoubt. It is worth while remarking that Captain Grant, who seems to write rather severely about the surrender of Kasimbazar, deserted Calcutta, along with Drake, the Governor, and Minchin, the commandant.

Now that I have written so much about old Murshidabad, I should like to finish by saying a few words about the modern district. Sir William Hunter has remarked that Murshidabad forms one of the few examples of a district which has declined in opulence and importance under British rule.

The old greatness of Murshidabad was of a factitious character, and nothing can restore it. It was the accident of a quarrel between Aurangzeb's grandson, Azim-us-Shan and Murshid Quli Khan, which made Murshidabad a capital. There was nothing in the nature of things to entitle it to the honour, and it does not say much for Murshid Quli's foresight or local knowledge, that he selected, for the seat of his government, the bank of a decayed river. The Bhagirathi may have been once the great Ganges, but this was many centuries ago. In the Portuguese map of 1540, we see the main stream, that is, the Padma, flowing eastward as it does now. We see the same thing in Blaeu's map of 1650, and still more distinctly in Broucke's map of about 1661. In January 1666, as Major Sherwill has pointed out, Bernier had to proceed from Donapur* to Kasimbazar by land, on account of a sand bank near "Soutiqui" (Suti).

* Perhaps the same as Dulabpur. Tavernier's distances are very incorrect. He speaks of Donapur as being six coss from Rajmahal, but the

Murshid Quli, therefore, could be under no mistake as to the capabilities of the river. We are told that the choice of Murshidabad was the result of several days' deliberation among the Kanungoes and Zamindars. Probably they, being Hindus, thought chiefly of the sanctity of the spot. Murshid Quli would have done better to have consulted Muhammadan statesmen, and Hindu traders. Indeed, he would probably have acted wisely if he had simply gone back to Rajmahal, the capital of Sultan Sujah. I suspect that he was little more than a keen financier. He was a great hand at collecting revenue, and used to remit much money to Delhi, where it was about as much lost to the district, as if it had gone, as now perhaps it does, to the scientific frontier. One of his master-strokes was to resume the jaghirs or military fiefs of Bengal, and make the holders take equivalents in the disturbed province of Orissa.

Apparently the only thing which could make Murshidabad prosperous would be the Bagirathi's remaining open and navigable throughout the year. At present it is a fine river for about four months, and for the remaining eight, it is a depressing sight. It is melancholy to see the great Padma passing, as it were, the treasury door of the district at Nyn Sukh and Chapghatty, and hardly vouchsafing to cast in a trifle from its superfluity. That the river remains open at all, is probably due to the bandels and other constructions of the executive engineers. The bed of the Bhagirathi is said to be higher than that of the Padma, and if this is the case, real improvement is almost hopeless. There is a toll station at Jangipur, and large sums* are collected annually. It would probably be better if this money, and the work of keeping the river open, were made over to the District Board.

Silk used to be a great product of the district, but it is steadily losing ground, the result, apparently, of the competition of China, Japan and Italy. Indigo, too, has much fallen off.

Looking to my own department, *viz.*, judicial work, I should say that much might be done by making civil and

distance must be nearer sixteen coss. Abul Fazl and Badaoni, writing of 1579, speak of the Ganges as flowing between Gaur and Tanda, but I suspect all that is meant is the little Ganges or Bhagirathi. I doubt if Tanda city was ever on the west side of the river. There was hardly room between it and Gaur for the great Ganges. Abul Fazl mentions the Padma as flowing eastward. He names Kazihattah as being near the point of divergence. This village seems to have now disappeared, but it is marked in Broucke's map as Hasiar or Kasiarhati. It was in Sarkar Barbakabad. Mr. Price, the Collector of Rajshaye, informs me that there is a village called Kazihatta, in pargana Goverhat, but that it is not on the bank of the Ganges.

* They average about Rs. 30,000 a year.

criminal justice cheaper and more rapid. The eastern part of the district is in want of a sub-division. On the great Chars of the Ganges there is no adequate protection for life or property.

In conclusion, it would be unjust not to notice the improvement that has been made by the draining of Berhampore. This is due, I believe, to Mr. Wickes, and has made the station much healthier. We no longer see the sepoy's parade ground and the race course covered with water, as in Mrs. Sherwood's time.

H. BEVERIDGE.

ART. II.—NATIONS IN ARMS.

A Review of the Development of the Modern National and Territorial Systems of Army Organisation.

WAR is the sport of kings, the trade of soldiers, and, to the rest of mankind, a necessary evil, to be endured as best may be. But it was not always so. When we study the records of history, war appears to us to have been the earliest general employment of the human race. The first traces of the occupation of this earth by man are found in spear-heads and arrow-heads shaped from flint or bone. It is impossible even to conjecture at what period, long anterior to the dawn of history, the primitive ancestors of the Aryan and Semitic races contended with rival tribes for the possession of water-springs and pasture-lands.

The earliest literature of all nations make us familiar with their familiarity with war: the Iliad tells us of the war between Greeks and Trojans, the Maha-Bharata celebrates the strife of the Pandyas with the Kauravas: the oldest of the Hebrew Scriptures tells us of the battle of the four kings against five: the hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt, and the cuneiform inscriptions on Assyrian ruins, are, for the most part, records of conquests, expeditions, sieges, campaigns. War must have commenced simultaneously with the commencement of separate tribal and national existence, and it will probably end only when such separate existence is merged in one great universal human brotherhood, if such a desirable consummation should ever happen to be brought about. Meanwhile we may congratulate ourselves that our modern civilisation has, at all events, diminished the frequency of wars. Nations in an early, or imperfect, stage of civilisation, like the Red Indians, the New Zealanders, the Afghan and Bedouin Arab tribes, spend most of their time in war, and look on it as their normal state of existence. Nor is this to be wondered at, for a state of nature seems to be also a state of strife: warring elements pervade inanimate nature, while animated nature presents the appearance of a continual battle-field, in which the weak and timid become the prey of the brave and the strong.

Among the civilised nations of Europe war has ceased to be the chief aim and end of life: but it is still one of the greatest of human industries. The latest inventions and discoveries of science are pressed into its service: and the new departure by which every citizen of a nation must become a trained soldier and serve his time in the ranks, brings war home to the hearths

of all without exception ; and cannot fail to have a far-reaching effect on the future social and political developments of the human race. It is of this new departure, whereby a civilised nation and a disciplined army have become, at the present day, synonymous, or convertible terms, that we propose to treat, and to review the origin, and examine the results, of this new development of military organisation.

It is a trite saying that history repeats itself, and it is curious that, after four thousand years of history, the civilised nations of Europe should have returned to the earliest principles of military service, when every able-bodied man of the tribe or nation bore arms in the common cause.

In the Pentateuch we find the children of Israel reckoned by the number of men that drew the sword : every grown male member of the congregation was girt with sword on his thigh, and was counted a warrior of the host of the Lord. Similarly, among the Gallic and German nations, we find the whole tribe turning out to battle, and only the women and children left in the camp, or with the waggons. In the Grecian and Roman Republics every free citizen owed and rendered military service to the State. Some of these States had organisations almost as thorough and as complex as those of modern times. The Spartans were associated in permanent squads and companies, which were lodged and fed together in time of peace, as well as war.

The wealthy Romans served as *equites* or horsemen : the poorer citizens served on foot, taking their place, according to their age, in the tactical divisions of the Legion, as either *Hastati*, *Principes*, or *Triarii* ; a distribution curiously paralleled in the present day by the division of a modern national army into Active Army, Landwehr, and Landsturm (*Turkicè*, Nizam, Redif, and Mustahafiz). But, with the spread of commerce, the increase of wealth and luxury, and the growth of civilisation, the employment of mercenary troops came into fashion, the rôle of the soldier was gradually separated from that of the civilian, and the profession of arms became a particular calling. The overthrow of the Roman Empire, and the partial extinction of its civilisation by the Northern barbarians, caused this whole process to be gone through over again.

In the feudal system of mediæval Europe, service in the wars constituted the universal bond between the vassal and his lord, between the client and his patron. Every able-bodied man must serve his master in war, as in peace. The profession of arms was the only career open to men of noble or gentle birth. Every knight was a warrior by profession ; but the establishment of Orders of knighthood, especially

of the monastic Orders, such as those of the Templars and Hospitallers in the time of the Crusades, once more formed organised bodies of professional soldiers : and these were imitated in the Free Companies, bodies of men who embraced the soldier's career for a livelihood, selling their services to the kings or republics who bid the highest for them. Soon the training and supply of mercenaries became a regular trade ; and soldiers of fortune like the Captal de Buche, Sir John Hawksworth, and the Constable Bourbon, swarmed over Europe, ready to sell their services to the highest bidder ; while the Holy Roman Emperor and the Most Christian King, engaged Italian *condottieri*, German *Lanzknechts*, or Swiss mercenaries, to fight their battles, as more effective and more trustworthy than the feudal levies of peasants taken from the plough-tail, and shepherds taken from the fold. The professional soldiers studied the art of war, and their marked superiority to the raw feudal levies, led by degrees to their continuous employment, and the era of standing armies had begun. The invention of fire-arms was a most potent factor in accomplishing this revolution. The hand-gun was a weapon to manage which a special training was required ; and it was an expensive and complicated machine, which could not be easily provided by anyone, like a pike or a longbow. The earliest mercenary soldiers we read of in English history, as employed in England, are the German hackbut-men, or arquebusiers, whom Edward the Fourth brought back from the Continent with him, to fight at Barnet and Tewkesbury.

Warlike monarchs like Charles the Fifth and Francis the First soon appreciated the advantage of having these trained bodies of troops, who were always ready to march and to fight : and they also soon discovered that it would be both cheaper and safer to raise and pay an army of their own, than to hire it on a contract system from an independent Captain. The formidable Spanish army of Charles the Fifth was the first notable example of a real national standing army in Europe : the Catholic League raised a fine army for the suppression of the Protestant religion in Germany : and the Emperor Ferdinand was so jealous of it, that he commissioned the celebrated Wallenstein to raise another army for his own service—the famous Imperialist Army of the Thirty Years' War.

The attempt of Wallenstein to use this formidable army against his Imperial master, which resulted in his own death, was a flagrant warning against the dangers of the contract system, in which the mercenary army owed a divided allegiance to the Captain who had raised it, and to the Sovereign who employed it ; and, by the end of the great war, most of

the kingdoms of Europe owned royal standing armies, which were gradually raised to a high pitch of efficiency. The Swedish army, trained by the king Gustavus Adolphus, the Lion of the North, remained the model for all European armies, till it was vainly sacrificed by Charles the Twelfth in undertaking enterprises beyond even its power to accomplish : and it perished, overtasked by its own exertion, and overwhelmed by the numbers of its foes. The French and the Imperialist armies were the largest in Europe. England first possessed a standing army under the Commonwealth, which Cromwell brought to as high a perfection of drill, discipline, and equipment as was at that time possible.

This army was disbanded after his death ; but Charles the Second brought over some Royalist regiments with him from the Continent at the Restoration, which formed a nucleus for the present British Army. One of these regiments was Dunbarton's, composed of Scotchmen, raised on the contract system for king Gustavus Adolphus, to fight in defence of the Protestant religion in the Thirty Years' War. After the king's death in the battle of Lutzen, the Scotsmen passed into the service of the King of France, who was a better paymaster than the Swedes : and King Louis made a present of their services to his friend Charles the Second at his Restoration. The regiment now called the Lothian, or Royal Scots regiment, is now the first of the English Line, and is supposed to be the oldest corporate body of regular troops in the world. Another of the regiments was composed of Englishmen, and had been raised in England for the service of Prince Maurice of Nassau, who was heading the insurrection of the Dutch Protestants against the Catholic Spaniards. It is now the Buffs, or East Kent regiment, the third of the English Line. The second and fourth regiments of foot were raised to garrison Tangier, part of the dowry of Queen Catherine of Braganza, who at the same time brought Bombay to the English Crown ; and the second regiment still bears the device of the Paschal Lamb on its colours, the emblem of its Christian service against the infidels of Morocco.

Poland was the only nation of Europe which never succeeded in establishing a standing army : and its failure to do so was owing to the general disorganisation which led, a hundred years later, to the dismemberment of that unhappy kingdom. Wealthy States, with small resources in the way of population, like the republics of Holland and Venice, continued to employ foreign mercenaries : Venice contracted with the Elector of Hanover, the father of our King George the First, for a whole army of German soldiers, General included, to fight the Turks in the Levant.

Strange as it now seems, the Ottoman Turks were the first nation to introduce a standing army into Europe. Their Sipahis (cavalry), Janissaries (infantry) and Topjis (artillery) were the first example of soldiers always kept on foot, lodged in barracks, and regularly paid, clothed, and rationed by the State. The first companies of Janissaries were formed in 1338, two hundred years before the establishment of the Spanish royal army of Charles the Fifth. The institution of this formidable standing army is unique in Oriental annals : no similar instance has ever been seen in any Eastern nation.

It contributed powerfully to the rapidity and permanence of Ottoman conquest ; and its superiority to the feudal levies of the Christian nations which opposed it, is a frequent theme of the chroniclers of the time. It is possible that its example may have been the cause of the institution of standing armies in Europe : it is certain that many of the customs in force in our European armies at this day, may be traced back to practices and regulations in force in the corps of Janissaries.

But in the seventeenth century this once formidable army had greatly deteriorated : its discipline had become relaxed, and its efficiency impaired from many causes which we need not here enumerate : and one result of the establishment of standing armies by the Christian Powers, was the complete reversal of the balance of military power between the East and the West. The Turks were driven clean out of Hungary, in which country they had held their ground for two hundred years. Bernier, the French physician and traveller, reviewing the countless hosts of the Grand Mogul, Aurangzeb, observed that "a few battalions led by a Condé or a Turenne would probably soon put all these masses of men to the rout ;" a forecast which was fulfilled half a century later, when the bayonet charge of a single French battalion scattered the Army of the Nawab of Arcot, "unaccustomed to such hardy and precipitate onsets," and showed that the Empire of India was a prize to the arms of Europe.

Another result of the establishment of standing armies was an immense increase in the Royal power and prerogative. Cardinal Ximenes awed the turbulent Spanish nobility by pointing to the battalions drawn up in the Palace courtyard ; "With these," he said proudly, "I govern Castile." An armed nation was practically powerless against a comparatively small body of professional soldiers. The first use Charles the Fifth made of his standing army was to destroy the liberties of Spain by suppressing its Parliaments. The ancient free institutions of the Spanish Netherlands, and of the kingdom of Bohemia, were trampled under foot in the same way ; and there is no saying what might have been the course of English

history, had Charles the First already possessed the standing Army which Lord Strafford proposed to raise for him at the outbreak of the dispute between the Crown and the Parliament.

The opinion of the age identified the institution of a standing army with despotism; and the experience of Cromwell's military rule in England intensified that opinion. After the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty, all political parties in England united in offering the most obstinate opposition to the establishment of a standing army. The Whigs hated it, because it menaced the liberties of the nation: the Tories hated it, because they remembered the tyranny of the soldiery under the usurper Cromwell. One disliked it because it might make the monarch all powerful: the other because it might be the means of overthrowing the dynasty. Every speech made in the House of Commons against this dangerous innovation, during the reigns of Charles and James the Second, is pointed by an allusion to the Turkish Janissaries, who, "being now grown proud and lazie, as is the manner of men living in continual pay, with arms in their hands, doubt not to do whatsoever unto themselves seemeth best, be it never so foule or unreasonable." But these apprehensions did not turn out to be well grounded. King James the Second increased the army by a number of regiments; but he tried in vain to make it subservient to his unpopular policy. Reviewing the Twelfth Regiment of foot, the King proclaimed that such officers and soldiers as objected to receive Catholics into the ranks, should lay down their arms. The whole battalion grounded arms as one man. The mortified Monarch was constrained to tell them to take them up again: but he muttered aside: "It shall be the worse for them;" an unfortunate remark, unfortunately overheard, which stood him in no good stead when the army was called on to choose between him and William of Orange. Under the latter sovereign the British Army became finally and firmly established: for as soon as we were at war with France, which already possessed a large standing army, even the members of the Country Party in the House of Commons, recognised that of two evils the maintenance of a standing army was to be chosen, rather than the endurance of defeat, loss, humiliation, and, perhaps, national ruin.

All these standing armies were recruited, like the Free Companies and mercenary bands that had preceded them, by voluntary enlistment. The soldier enlisted for life, and knew no other trade. Standing armies were still comparatively small, and they could be thus kept up without much trouble. At a pinch, crimps and press-gangs were employed, without risk of startling the public opinion of the time. In time of war, kings

and ministers were often at their wits' end to devise means of keeping their armies up to full strength. In England criminals were given their choice of going to gaol, or into the army. In Germany the petty princes who swarmed in that country, still exacted feudal service from their subjects, who were formed into squadrons and battalions, and dressed and drilled into the semblance of some monstrous mechanical toy, which was forthwith sold at a handsome profit to the Republic of Venice to fight the Turks, or to the King of England to coerce the unruly colonists of North America. In Russia, when recruits ran short, nobles and landholders were indented on for a wholesale supply of serfs. In Prussia, which kept up an army quite out of all proportion to the population, crimping and kidnapping was freely resorted to, and the Prussian recruiting agents became perfect pests in all the neighbouring countries. As armies grew larger and larger, the discipline severer, the duty harder, and the pay no higher, it became more and more difficult to fill the ranks by voluntary enlistment. In the days of the Thirty Years' War, there was no lack of recruits: armies were still small, so pay was good; discipline was slack; plundering was allowed, or prize money was distributed to the troops to ransom a town from sack. Compared with other trades, that of a soldier was a fairly lucrative one. The free and jovial life that tempted bold spirits into the army in those days, is vividly portrayed by Schiller in his drama of *Wallenstein's Lager*, in which the trooper sings—

“ Who looks on Death's face with a fearless brow,
The soldier alone, is the freeman now.

“ 'Tis from heaven his jovial lot has birth,
He needs not to strive nor to toil;
The peasant may grope in the bowels of earth,
And for treasure may greedily moil;
He gropes and he grubs thro' life for the pelf
He gropes and he grubs out a grave for himself.”

And again he sings of the soldier—

“ With the troubles of life he ne'er bothers his pate
And he knows neither care nor sorrow;
But he boldly rides onward to meet with his fate;
He may meet it to-day or to-morrow.
It may come to-morrow; then let us to-day
To the dregs drain the goblet of life while we may !”

But these merry times did not last. When plundering was prohibited, as subversive of discipline, prize-money paid into the military chest, and sobriety under arms and punctuality in the performance of duty were enforced by the unsparing application of the stick, the soldier's life was not a happy one. It became more and more difficult to obtain willing recruits, and fraud and force were freely resorted to by the recruiting officers and ser-

geants to entrap the unwary. Frederick the Great was forced to have recourse to crimping and kidnapping on a grand scale, to augment the famous army with which Prussia faced Europe in arms. When he made prisoners from the enemy, he used to enlist them forthwith into his own service *volens volens*, and send them off by whole battalions to relieve the Prussian garrisons in the remotest corner of his dominions. However, he made an exception against Frenchmen, against whom he had conceived a prejudice, and had forbidden their enlistment into his army; but one of his Colonels, hard up for recruits to fill his ranks, had taken a handsome and stalwart young Frenchman who offered himself as a recruit. The old king was, one day, inspecting the battalion, the chief business and pleasure of his life. As he constantly asked questions of the soldiers during his inspections, the Colonel had coached the young Frenchman, who was not much of a German scholar, in the answers that he was to make to His Majesty. He was made to repeat in German the answers to the questions as to how long he had served; how old he was; and whether he was satisfied with his pay and rations which were the usual queries put by the king, until he was perfect in his lesson. The appearance of the young Frenchman at once attracted the notice of the old king, who asked him how long he had served. The recruit replied "Five and twenty years:" the astonished monarch asked him how old he was: "six months" replied the Frenchman innocently. "Are you an idiot, or do you take me for one?" roared the king: "Both, your Majesty," replied the soldier imperturbably; which obliged the Colonel to come forward and confess to his breach of the enlistment regulations.

This prejudice of the old king against Frenchmen was the cause of the desertion of Angereau, afterwards a Marshal of France under the Emperor Napoleon, and who was at one time a private in the Prussian army. Twenty years afterwards, in the total rout of the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstadt, the very regiment in which Angereau had served as a private, was captured by the troops which he now commanded as a Marshal of France; and it gives one some idea of the unchanging character of armies in those days of long service and enlistment for life, when we hear that Marshal Angereau found in his old Prussian company the same Captain, the same Serjeant-Major, and many of the same men, with whom he had served twenty years before.

At that epoch no one suspected what a splendid human harvest lay all around, ready to the recruiting officer's sickle. When soldiers were enlisted for life, a king who had exacted universal compulsory service from his subjects would have depopulated his country. He was content to accept the service

of the needy and the ne'er-do-well, and to leave the thrifty tradesman and the patient husbandman to follow the calling of their fathers. But just as the institution of standing armies in France and Germany had forced England and other nations to undertake their maintenance in their own self-defence, so the adoption, first of conscription, and then of universal compulsory service by one nation, forced the acceptance of these measures as an imperative necessity on all the other nations of the Continent of Europe, as we shall proceed to relate.

The raising of troops by conscription had been common in Germany and in Russia during the eighteenth century, and it was gradually replacing the system of recruiting by voluntary enlistment, when the French Revolution broke out, and at once plunged the nations of Europe into universal war. The defence of the soil of the young Republic, when France found herself menaced on all her frontiers at once by the hosts of the confederated monarchs of Europe, necessitated a continuous supply of recruits to supplement the numbers of the hundred and fifty thousand old soldiers of the Bourbon monarchy who had taken service under the Tricolor; but the supply of volunteers proved quite unequal to meet the demand for more fighting men. The nation which had just newly discovered liberty and equality, was the first to legalise and systematise forced military service anew. The Republican War Minister, Carnot, one of those men born with a genius for organisation like the Vazir Ala-ud-Din, the founder of the Janissaries, or General Booth of the Salvation Army, introduced a regular system of military conscription into France, under which every department and commune was rated to find a certain number of recruits annually in proportion to its population. The able-bodied men of the nation being still many more than were required to fill the gaps of the largest army till then dreamt of, the selection was made by lot, or ballot: exceptions were numerous, and the purchase of substitutes was allowed.

Under Carnot's direction such a stream of conscripts joined the colours, that first the Directory, and afterwards Napoleon, was able to meet at all points with superior numbers the combined forces of the great military Powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. In a few years the strength of the French armies in the field became doubled and trebled in numbers by this means. It was this system of Carnot's devising, which provided Napoleon with the means of putting into action the extravagant plans framed by his boundless ambition, and, like a reckless speculator, he discounted his resources in advance, calling out the quotas of men for the conscription, one, two, and even three years before they were due. All the States of Europe now found themselves under the necessity of adopting

a similar system, in order to enable their armies to meet the French on anything like equal terms. Voluntary enlistment almost disappeared altogether, and also the less-to-be-regretted crimps and pressgangs. Still, the liability of the citizen to military service was regulated by the number of men whom the treasury could afford to keep under arms, as well as by the needs of the hour, and by the ability to provide a substitute. Voluntary service had given place to compulsory, but no one as yet dreamt of making the latter of universal application. It was not long, however, before the scheme of Carnot was, under the stress of circumstances, carried out to its logical conclusion: and, once again, necessity proved the mother of invention.

The overthrow of the Prussian army in one day by Napoleon and his Marshals at Jena and Auerstadt, laid the monarchy at the feet of the conqueror, and he was able to impose his own terms of peace. One of the stipulations, designed to effectually cripple the vanquished nation, and to guard against the danger of its revenge, was that the Prussian army should for the future never exceed the number of forty thousand men. The Prussian king and cabinet were not deterred by their acquiescence in this stipulation, from harbouring designs of revenge, and the patriotic ministers Von Stein and Von Scharnhorst, deliberately set themselves to find the means of evading it. Von Scharnhorst, who was a soldier and the Minister for War, found the means in short service. Directly forty thousand men had been thoroughly trained as soldiers, they were dismissed to their homes, and forty thousand fresh conscripts drawn to replace them. This was conveniently and quietly managed by a system of annual drafts, about one-third of the army being replaced every year, the Government retaining a lien on the services of the men who were dismissed to their homes.

Scharnhorst also invented the method of dividing the men of various ages into the three classes, or Bans, of Regulars, Landwehr (Militia) and Landsturm (Fencibles). Consequently, when Prussia joined Russia against Napoleon in 1813, after the disastrous retreat of the French from Moscow, she was able to put an army of two hundred thousand seasoned soldiers into the field at once, who, by sheer physical strength, overthrew, on the fields of the Katzback, and at Kulm, the gallant but immature striplings with whom Napoleon was fain to fill up the gaps in his first line. His incessant campaigns had exhausted the resources of the population in France, and, during his later wars, the conscription was carried on by discounting the drafts which were not due for several years more; and the large army with which he took the field in 1813, was principally composed (much to his own disgust) of lads, only half

trained, and physically unfit, besides, to support the toils and privations of a campaign.

After the overthrow of Napoleon and the general peace, the system of Scharnhorst was still maintained in Prussia ; and, though it was not very rigorously enforced, it enabled Prussia to keep up a much larger army proportionally than any other Power in Europe, considering the amount of her resources and population. But, during the reign of King Frederick William the Fourth, his brother, the late Emperor William, was at the head of the army. He took great pains to improve and consolidate the system of Scharnhorst ; and, on his accession to the throne, with the assistance, and under the guidance of his able co-adjutors, the statesman Von Bismarck and the soldier Von Moltke, he perfected the system of universal compulsory service, whereby every able-bodied Prussian became liable to serve the State as a soldier from his twentieth to his fortieth year. The whole kingdom was mapped out into recruiting districts corresponding to the battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, and army corps of an army.

Every year, all the young men who attained the age of twenty, were collected by the recruiting officers, and drafted into the cavalry, artillery, engineers, infantry, train or military departmental service, according to their physical fitness and other qualifications. Few exceptions were allowed ; only those were exempted who were physically unfit, or were the only bread winners of a family, or were candidates for Holy Orders. The recruits had to serve three years with the colours, living in barracks, and paid, fed, and clothed by the State. Young men of means were allowed the privilege of maintaining themselves, and of messing apart from the common herd, as "*Einjahr Freiwilliger*," or one year volunteers. In consideration of their paying all their own expenses, they were dismissed to their homes on furlough after a year's service, if reported thoroughly proficient. The rest of the soldiers were dismissed to their homes on furlough on the completion of their third year of service, coming up again once every year to take part in the annual autumn manœuvres. At the end of three years more, the soldier on furlough quitted his line regiment, and was transferred to the Landwehr regiment of the same district. He still had to turn out for a fortnight, or a month, of annual training in camp or barracks. After six years service in the Landwehr, he was transferred to the ranks of the Landsturm, and was no more troubled with training, but was liable to be called up for service at any time.

After forty years of age he was left to himself as a civilian. All the equipments of these furlough-men, Landwehr and Landsturm, were kept ready in store at the head quarters of their

regiments. Absolutely nothing was wanting. Even money in hard cash was safely stored away in the treasure vaults of the fortresses, so that the sinews of war might be forthcoming on the spur of the moment, without application to the Treasury or reference to Parliament. The words "Krieg Mobil" had only to be telegraphed from the war office at Berlin to the head quarters of the different army corps, and within a week every Prussian liable to service would be standing on parade in his proper place, shoulder to shoulder with his tried comrades, all clothed, armed, and fully equipped for war.

The attempt to evade the obligation of military service was made a criminal offence, and visited with the heaviest penalties. These measures did not pass into law in Prussia without loud protest and vigorous opposition from the Liberal party ; but the King and Bismarck were enabled to carry them through with the support of the majority of the nation, who recognised that their grand scheme for uniting Germany into one empire under the hegemony of Prussia could be carried out only by an absolute preponderance of military force. And this preponderance was obtained—numerically by the system which we have just described, and tactically and morally by the perfection of the training and equipment of the troops, in which the theories of Von Moltke were worked out by practical soldiers like the King and the Princes of the Royal House of Prussia. It has been cleverly said that there are two institutions of human origin, and only two, in which the means are perfectly adapted to the end sought to be attained : and these are the Roman Church and the German Army.

The Prussian soldiers had been armed with the breech-loader for twelve years before the incontestable proof of its superiority on the battlefields in Bohemia drove all the other nations of Europe to adopt it in panic haste. And, similarly, the re-organisation of their army on the new national and territorial lines had attracted little notice, and invited no imitation, until the signal and decisive triumph of the Prussian arms over Austria and the confederated minor German States in the Seven Weeks' War. The eyes of alarmed Europe were now widely opened to the chief secret of their success, which was nothing less than the system of universal compulsory military service. As the other European nations had already borrowed the conscription from France, so they set themselves now to borrow universal liability to service and the Reserve System from Prussia ; and everyone of them, almost without exception, proceeded to saddle itself with this grievous burden. Autocratic Russia and Republican France, Austria, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, even Greece and Roumania, all followed suit, and huge national territorial armies, minutely

organised and detailed, and thoroughly munitioned and equipped, have succeeded to the standing armies which took the place of the old feudal levies. The one exception is Great Britain. Grace to her insular position, she alone stands aloof from the new movement. She was long ago forced, however ungraciously, to acknowledge the necessity for a standing army; and of that army in time she grew fond and proud; but she has succeeded in keeping herself free from the burden of conscription when all her rivals and allies have found themselves forced to bow their necks beneath its yoke. We shall presently consider whether this fortunate exemption is likely to endure.

Under the conscription system of Carnot, the strength of armies was doubled and trebled, but, under the new Prussian system, it has again been multiplied six or eight times. A century ago, the French army under the Bourbon Monarchy—then one of the largest in Europe—numbered a hundred and fifty thousand men:—under Napoleon it rose to half a million; to-day it musters three-and-a-half millions! Germany has even more. Russia reaches the enormous total of five millions, while the Austrian Empire and the kingdom of Italy come something short of three millions each. As the emulation is still keen, even these numbers are being continually augmented; and this is done in two ways: by lengthening the period of liability to service, as the French have done lately by extending it from 20 to 25 years, and by gathering in the overplus men; for in every annual conscription there are a certain number of men left over for whom there is no room in the army, the *cadres* being all filled full; and these men form what is called in Prussia the Ersatz Reserve; men liable to service, but untrained. The German Emperor has just elaborated a scheme for making room for these men in the ranks of the army, by reducing the period of service with the colours from three to two years.

It is computed that there are altogether over twenty-eight millions of Europeans, all in the prime of manhood, trained as soldiers, and liable to be called out in the event of war. The annual cost of these national armies is about a hundred and twenty millions sterling annually. It must be remembered that, of all these hosts, only a quarter of the number are actually under arms and drawing pay and rations. Three fourths of them, all the reserve forces, receive nothing from the State as pay or maintenance, except when they are actually called out for training. The strength of the armies has been thus enormously increased at very little additional cost; and the system may therefore be described as an economical, and not an extravagant, one, the cheap defence of nations. Still the provision of war *materiel* grows continually more expensive,

owing to the improvements of science ; and the provision of complete equipment, to enable all these millions of men to take the field, forms no trifling addition to the military budget.

The burden is felt by wealthy countries like France and Germany ; while poor countries like Russia and Italy are gradually drifting into bankruptcy from the drain on their financial resources, and their people are taxed to the uttermost limit.

But if the burden be found unbearable, assuredly it need not be borne. What man, or what class, shall impose an adverse will upon an armed nation ? Hitherto monarchs and aristocracies have overawed and overruled an unarmed nation by means of a trained army, which formed a class apart, a separate caste, the interests and privileges of which were bound up with the maintenance of the existing government. But now the nation is the army, and army is the nation in arms.

It is evident that the new departure must immensely strengthen the cause of democracy, a result the last that its inventors and improvers would have looked or hoped for. It might, for the future, be impossible for a ruler to carry out any policy opposed to the national sentiment : impossible for him to rule at all, but by the will of the nation. Fortunately for the rulers, perhaps, the nations have not yet awaked to the full consciousness of their increased and irresistible strength.

Nor are the social consequences of the new departure as yet clearly developed. We find the most opposite and most contradictory opinions on this subject expressed by able and experienced men who have made it their special study. One school affirms that the discipline of military training is most beneficial to the manhood of a nation. It inculcates habits of self-restraint, punctuality, promptitude, and method. It unites different classes together, gives them a common interest and occupation, welds them into a harmonious national whole, teaches them to subordinate all other considerations to the call of duty. Another school maintains that it demoralises the manhood of a nation ; withdraws the youth from regular industry ; introduces him to the loose and vicious habits of life common to celibate communities or warriors ; habituates him, if not to the practice, at all events to the familiar contemplation, of drunkenness and debauchery, and returns him to civil life a worse man than it found him.

With regard to its effect on industry and production, there is a similar singular discrepancy of opinion. Some hold that it cripples the industry of a nation, withdrawing a number of labourers and artisans from the task of production : others maintain that it is a real benefit to an industrial community, by the relief it affords to a labour-market

congested by over-population, as in the case of our own and most other European countries. But, as the number of men actually serving with the colours, and withdrawn from labour for the time being, is not much greater now than under the old system ; and as the whole population is equally and impartially affected, we imagine that very little economical change in the matter of production and labour can have been effected by the new departure.

The British Empire is now the only civilised Power in the world (excepting the United States of America) which does not make military service, in some sort or another, obligatory on its citizens. We have seen how the recruiting of soldiers has gone round in a circle, from the obligation of every free citizen of the ancient Grecian and Roman Republics to stand forth in arms when summoned to defend the Commonwealth, through all the changes of mercenary service, feudal service, standing armies of professional soldiers, armies recruited by conscription, back to universal liability to military service again. But England, isolated by the silver streak, and heedless of the anger of the Lords of Legions, has remained content with her standing army which superseded the National Militia that fought her battles under the feudal system. The militia still remained as the constitutional force, and into its ranks, when it was called out, the labourer or mechanic might be forced to go, if the lot to serve fell upon him. The number of recruits required from each parish as its quota were taken from among the able-bodied inhabitants by ballot. Serjeant Kite, in his stirring appeals to the yokels to enlist, used to exhort them to take the shilling to escape the fate of being "scratched off the Church doors into the Militia." And the raising of the militia by ballot in England would be still legal, though the practice has been discontinued for the last seventy years. The service in the militia regiments in the Channel Islands is the only instance in the British Empire in which compulsory service is actually enforced.

The question is, whether England will be able to retain her position as a great Power without resorting to compulsory military service. It is not an increase of our army that is needed ; our present army is quite large enough for our requirements in peace time : but it is the power of increasing it when an increase is needed that we do not possess. The two years war in the Crimea, besides lowering the physical standard of our recruits considerably, forced us to have resort to enlisting foreigners on the Continent : a source of supply that would certainly not be open to us in the future. The introduction of the new system of universal service has largely added to the numerical strength of all the armies of the

Continental Powers at a proportionately small expense. The Russian Army, for instance, when mobilised for war, has a strength four times as great as at the time of the Crimean War: while the number of men actually under arms now, and drawing pay and rations, is no greater than it was thirty years ago. Our small army is, on the contrary, incapable of expansion. It stands at a fixed strength for peace and war, and any attempt at largely increasing that strength means a corresponding deterioration of its human material.

Our attempt to reap the advantages of a Reserve System, without incurring the corresponding liabilities of compulsory service, is a failure. It reminds us of the ingenious device of the Irishman for lengthening his blanket by cutting a strip off the top and sewing it on to the bottom. The general establishment of conscription left us far behind the Continental nations in the race for military supremacy; but we could still afford, in our insular security, to laugh at their increased strength for mischief. But this universal service has distanced us entirely. Looking at the matter dispassionately, we do not see how England can maintain her present position among the nations without introducing and adopting compulsory service. All the arguments that are now used against conscription were formerly used against the establishment of a standing army in England; but, when the absolute necessity for one was seen and felt, the objections disappeared. Were our country to be engaged in a land war with any great Military Power, we believe that in six months our operations would come to a standstill absolutely for want of men.

What happened in the country where personal liberty is most scrupulously respected,—the United States of America? War had not been long carried on with the Seceded Southern States (themselves as unfit and unprepared for war as the Yankees) when the Government of the United States had to resort to conscription to fill the ranks of their army. The New York mob resisted the enforcement of the new law; and it was not till after a bloody conflict that the orders of Government could be carried out: but the draft was made, and the conscripts proved just as good soldiers as the volunteers who had preceded them. We think we are correct in saying, that most of the officers in high command in the British Army hold, that the question of the introduction of the conscription into England is only a question of time; and we believe that the territorial organisation introduced in 1881, and applied to the Infantry of the Line, Militia, and Volunteers, was intended to facilitate the introduction of a conscription, when the time for resorting to it could be no longer delayed.

The East will be perforce obliged to assimilate this latest development of Western civilization. Sultan Abdul Hamid the Second has already decreed the adoption of universal compulsory service in the Ottoman dominions. The whole lands of the Empire are, by this decree, parcelled out into seven Army Corps Districts, corresponding very nearly to the geographical districts of Albania, Macedonia, Anatolia, Armenia, Syria, Irak, and Arabia. These army corps districts are each divided into divisional districts, and each of these is subdivided in two brigade districts. Each brigade district comprises two regimental districts, and each regimental district has four battalion districts. Men specially qualified are selected from among the territorial conscripts for the engineer and artillery services, and for the cavalry regiments and sharpshooter battalions of each division. The scheme closely follows the German lines of organisation, and it has been introduced into Turkey by a staff of Prussian officers, whose services were lent for the purpose by the Emperor to the Sultan.

Under this scheme every Musalman subject of the Padishah is liable to service from the age of twenty to that of forty years. From twenty to twenty-six years of age inclusive, he has to serve in the Nizam (active army), four years under arms with the colours, and two years in the reserve (Ihtiat): the next four years he serves in the first ban of the Militia, or Landwehr (Redif-i-Mukaddam), and the four years after that in the second ban (Redif-i Táli). The next six years, making a total of twenty, he serves in the Landsturm (Mustahafiz). The system is complete and admirable on paper, but in practice it fails in an essential point. The millions of men commanded by the French, German and Russian Governments are all, or almost all, trained soldiers, human automatons who have been through the military mill. In Turkey most of the Redif and Mustahafiz are untrained men, and would be of no more value than an armed mob of peasants. About a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmans become annually liable to military service in the Ottoman Empire: but, owing to the poverty of the exchequer, not more than fifty thousand recruits are taken for the Nizam, and the rest are passed into the Reserves without training. Owing to the same cause, arms and uniforms are wanting for some of the Redif, and for all the Mustahafiz: and the absolute want of capable officers is also a fatal blot. With her utmost efforts, Turkey could muster, at the present moment, no more than seven hundred thousand men under arms; while her old rivals, Austria and Russia, who not very long ago contended with her on equal terms, now reckon up their muster-rolls by millions.

Russia, too, has already familiarised the East with conscription, by introducing it among the Oriental races who have been conquered by her arms. Owing to the objection of the Tartars and Circassians to bear arms under the flag of the Cross and for a Christian master, they were at first allowed to commute their military service for a money payment, and care was taken to make this indulgence sufficiently burdensome to cause a short term of service with the colours to be enjoyed as a relief. As the Musalman population becomes accustomed to regard military service as a necessary evil (and Orientals soon reconcile themselves to the inevitable), the exemptions are gradually narrowed, and very soon none will be allowed. East of the Caspian, the Russians have not yet ventured to introduce forced military service among a Muhammadan population, not yet well accustomed or reconciled to their rule.

In Bosnia, the Austrians have introduced forced service among the Musalman Slaves, who revolted against Sultan Mahmud fifty years ago, because they were expected to wear cross-belts with the new Nizam uniforms. Every consideration is paid to their religious prejudices, and they are allowed to wear the red Turkish cap, instead of the Austrian kepi. Consequently the service has become fairly popular among them, though, owing to their Slavonic sympathies, they will probably some day prove but a broken reed under the hand of their German masters.

The French have not ventured on introducing their conscription among their Arab subjects in North Africa. Their regiments of Sipáhis and Turcos are recruited by voluntary enlistment, and they find no lack of eligible recruits. The Sipáhis are Moors, and were employed by the Turks as auxiliary cavalry before the French conquered the country. They were easily persuaded to transfer their services to their new masters. The Turcos (*Tirailleurs Indigènes*) are mostly recruited from Kuloghliis, a half-breed race, the offspring of the Turkish corsairs of Algiers by the European women captured in their cruises and slave-raids on the coasts. The Kuloghliis were employed as soldiers under the Turks, and still follow with alacrity the calling of their fathers.

As in Algiers, so in India, we have no lack of voluntary recruits. But their continuous supply depends largely on our prestige and our fortune. We have luckily hitherto been always on the winning side; but an unsuccessful campaign, a threatened reverse, an unforeseen disaster, might cut off our supply altogether. It is an ominous circumstance that, during the last Afghan War, in 1880, we had to offer bounties to attract native recruits into our service for the first time in the history of the Sepoy Army. If we should ever have the ill-fortune to be

engaged in war with Russia, we should find our operations in Asia seriously hampered for want of men, and our resources heavily handicapped by the extravagant expenses of a voluntary army, to whose recruits high pecuniary advantages must be offered to induce them to engage. But it is unlikely that an English Government will ever introduce compulsory military service into India, though we may be sure that there are other European nations which would not be so scrupulous.

ART. III.—“FROM THE CAVES AND JUNGLES OF
HINDUSTAN.”*

(REVIEW: INDEPENDENT SECTION.)

“IT is not necessary to be a Theosophist,” says the *Times*, in a lengthy review of this work, “to admire Mme. Blavatsky’s letters from India, first published in 1879, a translation of which from the Russian, is now published under the gorgeous title, *FROM THE CAVES AND JUNGLES OF HINDUSTAN*. The letters have only occasional reference to the doctrines of which Mme. Blavatsky was the prophetess. While they are evidence of very considerable literary power on the part of the writer, they reveal a mind already biased strongly towards oriental mysticism, and intensely susceptible of the weirder aspects of Hindu life.”

This last addition to the already long roll of Mme. Blavatsky’s books, appears to differ very considerably from such of its predecessors as we have seen. Mme. Blavatsky is here no longer the inspired prophetess, the Sybil, ranging mystic leaves in inextricable confusion, the Pythia chanting forth strange secrets of the destiny of man, or haply the Cassandra, crooning forth the doom of dynasties, that

“with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs . . .”

Mme. Blavatsky is here rather the woman of culture, the traveller and connoisseur, flavouring her pages with pithy allusions and illustrations from the masterpieces of Russian literature; casting aside the vestures of the “phrensied Delphic maid,” to don the severe garb of the Muse of History, changing cloaks now and then with her sister of Comedy, and only at the rarest intervals, reminding us that Persephone and the Eleusinian Mysteries lurk behind.

Many of the descriptions of Indian life are conceived in the happiest vein, and are full of a spicy freshness, like the breezes that in fable only, blow from the Southern Isle of Pearls; a savour and charm that cannot fail to appeal to readers in India, and give them a fellow-feeling with this remarkable author, that, probably, they have never felt before.

Take, for instance, this picture of the Pinjara Bala at Bombay:—

“This institution would have served very well for a model of Noah’s Ark. In the first yard, however, we saw no animals, but, instead,

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a few hundred human skeletons—old men, women and children. They were the remaining natives of the so-called famine districts, who had crowded into Bombay to beg their bread. Thus, while, a few yards off, the official "Vets." were busily bandaging the broken legs of jackals, pouring ointments on the backs of mangy dogs, and fitting crutches to lame storks, human beings were dying, at their very elbows, of starvation. Happily for the famine stricken, there were at that time fewer hungry animals than usual, and so they were fed on what remained from the meals of the brute pensioners. No doubt many of these wretched sufferers would have consented to transmigrate instantly into the bodies of any of the animals who were ending so snugly their earthly careers.

But even the Pinjarapâla roses are not without thorns. The graminivorous "subjects," of course, could not wish for anything better; but I doubt very much whether the beasts of prey, such as tigers, hyenas, and wolves, are content with the rules and the forcibly prescribed diet. Jainas themselves turn with disgust even from eggs and fish, and, in consequence, all the animals of which they have the care must turn vegetarians. We were present when an old tiger, wounded by an English bullet, was fed. Having sniffed at a kind of rice soup which was offered to him, he lashed his tail, snarled, showing his yellow teeth, and, with a weak roar, turned away from the food. What a look he cast askance upon his keeper, who was meekly trying to persuade him to taste his nice dinner! Only the strong bars of the cage saved the Jaina from a vigorous protest on the part of this veteran of the forest. A hyena, with a bleeding head and an ear half torn off, began by sitting in the trough filled with this Spartan sauce, and then, without any further ceremony, upset it, as if to show its utter contempt for the mess."

Then follows a charming picture of "the veritable Castor and Pollux of this institution," an old elephant with a wooden leg, and a sore-eyed ox. The elephant's first thought, as carnivora set up their howl, was, in accordance with his noble nature, one of solicitude for the welfare of his friend. He wound his trunk round the neck of the ox, and moaned dismally, as who should say: "A sad lot is ours, my friend!"

"Further on we were shown a *holy* man, who was feeding insects with his own blood. He lay with his eyes shut, and the scorching rays of the sun striking full upon his naked body. He was literally covered with flies, mosquitoes, ants and bugs.

"All these are our brothers," mildly observed the keeper, pointing to the hundreds of animals and insects. "How can you Europeans kill and even devour them?"

"What would you do," I asked, "if this snake were about to bite you? Is it possible you would not kill it, if you had time?"

"Not for all the world. I should cautiously catch it, and then I should carry it to some deserted place outside the town, and there set it free."

"Nevertheless; suppose it bit you?"

"Then I should recite a mantram, and, if that produced no good result, I should be fain to consider it as the finger of Fate, and quietly leave this body for another."

These were the words of a man who was educated to a certain extent, and very well read. When we pointed out that no gift of Nature is aimless, and that the human teeth are all devouring, he answered

by quoting whole chapters of Darwin's *Theory of Natural Selection* and *Origin of Species*. "It is not true," argued he, "that the first men were born with canine teeth. It was only in course of time, with the degradation of humanity—only when the appetite for flesh food began to develop,—that the jaws changed their first shape under the influence of new necessities."

I could not help asking myself, *Où la science va-t-elle se fourrer ?*"

The author of the "Caves and Jungles," seems to have taken Darwin into her special favour. It turns up again a little later on in her book, this time under Hindu auspices. The circumstances are these. The author, and a character in her dramatic story, who appears to represent her most famous American colleague, were staying at the house of a worthy Brahman, named Sham Rao, one of whose relations had had the misfortune to come to an untimely end, and to transmigrate incontinent into the body of a flying fox or vampire bat.

The said bat dwelt in a kind of outpost of the house in which the author's American friend was to pass the night; and, as ill-luck would have it, the old and new occupants of the said outpost did not hit it off very well:

"This is how it happened. Noiselessly hovering about the tower, the vampire from time to time alighted on the sleepers, making them shudder under the disgusting touch of his cold sticky wings. His intention clearly was to get a nice suck of European blood. They were wakened by his manipulations at least ten times, and each time frightened him away. But, as soon as they were dozing again, the wretched bat was sure to return and perch on their shoulders, heads, or legs. At last Mr. Y—, losing patience, had recourse to strong measures; he caught him and broke his neck.

Feeling perfectly innocent, the gentlemen mentioned the tragic end of the troublesome flying fox to their host, and instantly drew down on their heads all the thunderclouds of heaven."

The old mother of Sham Rao tore her hair, and shrieked lamentations in all the languages of India; for her son, as we have explained, was the "inhabitant" of the said vampire bat, and, naturally, would hardly enjoy having his, for the time being, terrestrial abode's neck broken. That was only natural. But how to patch it up—not the neck, for that was beyond all healing, but the quarrel—, was quite another matter. However, their host fortunately rose to the occasion:

He began—

"By delivering a very far-fetched, eloquent preface. He reminded us that he, personally, was an enlightened man, a man who possessed all the advantages of a Western education. He said that, owing to this, he was not quite sure that the body of the vampire was actually inhabited by his late brother. Darwin, of course, and some other great naturalists of the West, seemed to believe in the transmigration of souls, but, as far as he understood, they believe in it in an inverse sense; that is to say, if a baby had been born to his mother exactly at the moment of the vampire's death, this baby

would indubitably have had a great likeness to a vampire, owing to the decaying atoms of the vampire being so close to her.

"Is not this an exact interpretation of the Darwinian school?" he asked."

The practical upshot of it was this: if the late lamented could incarnate once in a vampire bat for his own amusement, and for sheer pleasure, why should he not—when that snug, but precarious, earthly tabernacle came to an unforeseen surcease—why should he not reincarnate in something else, to save his family from an extremely awkward position, and to shield the worthy American, who had been the involuntary cause of his "temporary change of vesture," to use the phrase of the Buddhist priests. Why not, indeed? Apparently the said late lamented was reasonable, and saw the cogency of this argument; at any rate, he seems to have settled down to a rather humdrum, but certainly sedate, and possibly more commodious, life, as the "indwelling presence" of a buffalo-calf, which was speedily purchased and presented to the disconsolate mother, who at once recognised her deceased son, doubtless by his intelligent expression, and the configuration of his ears.

The more active hero of this episode seems to have had rather a knack of getting into trying positions, if we may credit the author of the "Caves and Jungles."

This time it was among the hills near Karli:—

"A path, or rather a ledge cut along the perpendicular face of a rocky mass 200 feet high, led from the chief temple to our vihára. A man needs good eyes, sure feet, and a very strong head to avoid sliding down the precipice at the first false step. Any help would be quite out of the question, for the ledge being only two feet wide, no one could walk side by side with another. We had to walk one by one, appealing for aid only to the whole of our personal courage. But the courage of many of us was gone on an unlimited furlough. The position of our American colonel was the worst, for he was very stout and short-sighted, which defects, taken together, caused him frequent vertigos. To keep up our spirits we indulged in a choral performance of the duet from *Norma*, "Moriám' insieme" holding each other's hands the while, to ensure our being spared by death, or dying all four in company. But the colonel did not fail to frighten us nearly out of our lives. We were already half way up to the cave when he made a false step, staggered, lost hold of my hand, and rolled over the edge. We three, having to clutch the bushes and stones, were quite unable to help him."

But fortunately the colonel was able to catch at some bushes on the face of the precipice, and thus to slightly better his position; though he cannot have felt very comfortable for all that, perched on a ledge far below the path, with a yawning abyss beneath him.

From this unpleasant situation he was rescued by a Sadhu, a mysterious devotee, with a five legged cow,—the extra member growing erratically out of the middle of its back; the cow used

this wayward limb, "as if it were a hand and arm, hunting and killing tiresome flies, and scratching its head with its hoof." The owner of this bovine pentagram, the aforementioned Sadhu, called to the colonel to hold on, and to us to keep quiet. He patted the neck of his monstrous cow, and unwound the rope by which he was leading her. Then, with both hands, he turned her head in the direction of the path and cried to her to "chal." With a few wild-goat-like bounds, the animal reached the spot where the rest of the party were waiting; then the Sadhu descended to the ledge and helped the Colonel to climb up. When the party duly reached Karli, and camped in one of the caves for the night, a curious incident, which may now be added to the number of authentic "tiger-stories," is reported to have taken place.

The hero of it is another Sadhu, this time of the Rajput race.

"Every time I raised my eyes, heavy with fatigue, the first object upon which they fell was the gigantic figure of our mysterious friend.

Having seated himself after the Eastern fashion, with his feet drawn up and his arms round his knees, the Rajput sat on a bench cut in the rock at one end of the verandah, gazing out into the silvery atmosphere. He was so near the abyss that the least incautious movement would expose him to great danger. But the granite goddess, Bhavani herself, could not be more immovable. The light of the moon before him was so strong, that the black shadow under the rock which sheltered him was doubly impenetrable, shrouding his face in absolute darkness. From time to time the flame of the sinking fires leaping up shed its hot reflection on the dark bronze face, enabling me to distinguish its sphinx-like lineaments and its shining eyes, as unmoving as the rest of the features.

"What am I to think? Is he simply sleeping, or is he in that strange state, that temporary annihilation of bodily life? . . . Only this morning he was telling us how the initiate Raj-yogis were able to plunge into this state at will. . . . Oh, if I could only go to sleep. . . ."

Suddenly a loud prolonged hissing, quite close to my ear, made me start, trembling with indistinct reminiscences of cobras. The sound was strident, and evidently came from under the hay upon which I rested. Then it struck one! two! It was our American alarm-clock, which always travelled with me. I could not help laughing at myself, and, at the same time, feeling a little ashamed of my involuntary fight."

Then the attention of the reader is turned with wonderful skill to the dozing Sadhu, who is to play the part of *deus ex machinâ* in the coming tiger-scene. "Sleep fled," says the narrator,

"Further and further from my eyes. A fresh, strong wind arose before the dawn, rustling the leaves and then shaking the tops of the trees that rose above the abyss. My attention became absorbed by the group of three Rajputs before me—by the two shield-bearers and their master. I cannot tell why I was specially attracted at this moment by the sight of the long hair of the servants, which was waving in the wind, though the place they occupied was comparatively

sheltered. I turned my eyes upon their Sahib, and the blood in my veins stood still. The veil of somebody's topi, which hung beside him, tied to a pillar, was simply whirling in the wind, while the hair of the Sahib himself lay as still as if it had been glued to his shoulders, not a hair moved, nor a single fold of his light muslin garment. No statue could be more motionless.

What is this, then? I said to myself. Is it delirium? Is this a hallucination, or a wonderful, inexplicable reality? I shut my eyes, telling myself I must look no longer. But a moment later I again looked up, startled by a crackling sound from above the steps. The long, dark silhouette of some animal appeared at the entrance, clearly outlined against the pale sky. I saw it in profile. Its long tail was lashing to and fro. Both the servants rose swiftly and noiselessly and turned their heads towards Gulab-Sing, as if asking for orders. But where was Gulab-Sing? In the place which, but a moment ago, he occupied, there was no one. There lay only the topi, torn from the pillar by the wind. I sprang up: a tremendous roar deafened me, filling the vihâra, wakening the slumbering echoes, and resounding like the softened rumbling of thunder, over all the borders of the precipice. Good heavens! A tiger!

Before this thought had time to shape itself clearly in my mind, the sleepers sprang up and the men all seized their guns and revolvers, and then we heard the sound of crashing branches, and of something heavy sliding down into the precipice. The alarm was general.

"What is the matter now?" said the calm voice of Gulab-Sing, and I again saw him on the stone bench. "Why should you be so frightened?"

"A tiger! Was it not a tiger?" came, in hasty, questioning tones, from Europeans and Hindus."

Subsequent investigation showed that it was; and, as no wound was found on the animal's body, the party concluded that it had been slain by some "veil," or "Keelymotor," or some similar uncanny force wielded by the Sadhu, Gulab Lal Sing.

This book contains one or two beautiful descriptions of Indian scenery which show that the author might, under other circumstances, have become an altogether notable *belle-lettriste*.

Perhaps the finest of these is contained in the Enchanted Island:—

"As the last golden ray disappeared on the horizon, a gauze-like veil of pale lilac fell over the world. But as every moment decreased the transparency of this tropical twilight, the tint gradually lost its softness and became darker and darker. It looked as if an invisible painter, unceasingly moving his gigantic brush, swiftly laid one coat of paint over the other, ever changing the exquisite background of our islet. The phosphoric candles of the fireflies began to twinkle here and there, shining brightly against the black trunks of the trees, and lost again on the silvery background of opalescent evening sky. But in a few minutes more, thousands of these living sparks, precursors of Queen Night, played round us, pouring like a golden cascade over the trees, and dancing in the air above the grass and the dark lake.

And behold! here is the queen in person. Noiselessly descending upon earth, she reassumes her rights. With her approach, rest and peace spread over us; her cool breath calms the activities of day.

Like a fond mother, she sings a lullaby to nature, lovingly wrapping her in her soft black mantle; and, when everything is asleep, she watches over nature's dozing powers till the first streaks of dawn.

The fickle goddess was late; she kept us waiting till after ten o'clock. Just before her arrival, when the horizon began to grow perceptibly brighter, and the opposite shore to assume a milky, silvery tint, a sudden wind rose. The waves, that had gone quietly to sleep at the feet of gigantic reeds, awoke and tossed uneasily, till the reeds swayed their feathery heads and murmured to each other as if taking counsel together about something that was going to happen. . . . Suddenly, in the general stillness and silence, we heard again the same musical notes, which we had passed unheeded, when we first reached the island, as if a whole orchestra were trying their musical instruments before playing some great composition. All round us, and over our heads, vibrated strings of violins, and thrilled the separate notes of a flute. In a few moments came another gust of wind tearing through the reeds, and the whole island resounded with the strains of hundreds of *Æolian* harps. And suddenly there began a wild unceasing symphony. It swelled in the surrounding woods, filling the air with an indescribable melody. Sad and solemn were its prolonged strains; they resounded like the *arpeggios* of some funeral march, then, changing into a trembling thrill, they shook the air like the song of a nightingale, and died away in a long sigh. They did not quite cease, but grew louder again, ringing like hundreds of silver bells, changing from the heartrending howl of a wolf deprived of her young, to the precipitate rhythm of a gay tarantella, forgetful of every earthly sorrow; from the articulate song of a human voice, to the vague majestic accords of a violoncello, from merry child's laughter to angry sobbing. And all this repeated in every direction by mocking echo, as if hundreds of fabulous forest maidens, disturbed in their green abodes, answered the appeal of the wild musical Saturnalia."

This is, probably, the finest passage in the book, from the point of view of pure literature; but much more likely to attract general notice is the "Witch's Den," which probably equals Edgar Allan Poe, or Bulwer Lytton's best efforts at the distinctively horrible; and was, it must be remembered, written some time before the famous "She." Take the picture of the witch:

"Imagine a skeleton seven feet high, covered with brown leather, with a dead child's tiny head stuck on its bony shoulders; the eyes set so deep, and at the same time flashing such fiendish flames all through your body, that you begin to feel your brain stop working, your thoughts become entangled, and your blood freeze in your veins."

In years also, she seems not to have been far behind the redoubtable Ayesha:

"Three hundred years old! Who can tell? Judging by her appearance, we might as well conjecture her to be a thousand. We beheld a genuine living mummy, or rather a mummy endowed with motion. She seemed to have been withering since the creation. Neither time, nor the ills of life, nor the elements could ever affect this living statue of death. The all-destroying hand of time had touched her and stopped short."

Then follows a scene that we can only compare with the *Walpurgis Nacht* of Goethe :

“ As if catching the cadence of the drums, leaning all her long body forward, and writhing like an eel, she rushed round and round the blazing bonfire. A dry leaf caught in a hurricane could not fly swifter. Her bare bony feet trod noiselessly on the rocky ground. The long locks of her hair flew round her like snakes, lashing the spectators who knelt, stretching their trembling arms towards her, and writhing as if they were alive. Whoever was touched by one of this Fury's black curls, fell down on the ground, overcome with happiness, shouting thanks to the goddess, and considering himself blessed for ever. It was not human hair that touched the happy elect, it was the goddess herself, one of the seven.”

What was the upshot of this exciting scene, we must leave our readers to find out for themselves. Enough has been said to show the tone and temper of the book.

ART. IV.—HOOGHLY PAST AND PRESENT.

V.

History of the Hooghly District from its first formation to its full development.

AFTER the office of Fouzdar had been abolished, Hooghly was thrown into the back-ground, in which obscure position it continued till it was again brought to the front, by being formed into a district in 1795.* On its first formation the new district, carved, as it principally was, out of the district of Burdwan, was placed in the charge of the Hon'ble C. A. Bruce, as Judge and Magistrate, the revenue jurisdiction remaining, as before, with the Collector of Burdwan. Mr. Bruce would seem to have been much above the ordinary run of district officers, inasmuch as he corresponded direct with the Governor-General† in Council. We do not know what the exact extent of his criminal jurisdiction was, but it must have been pretty considerable, as it comprehended thirteen thanas‡ Mr. Bruce's tenure of office is not rendered notable by any event of importance. In fact, he left no mark on the district, any more than his successor Mr. Thomas Brooke, who is remembered only for a very able report which he made in 1799, || condemning

* Previous to this year, the town and some parts of the Hooghly district were within the jurisdiction of Nadia.

† Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth. Sir John distinguished himself not only in the region of politics, but also in the republic of letters. His biography of his famous friend Sir William Jones, whom he succeeded in the presidential chair of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is an excellent production.

‡ Hooghly, Bansberia, Benipur (now Balagarh), Pandua, Dhaniakhali, Haripal, Rajbalhat (now Kristanagar), Jehanabad, Dewangunj (now Goghat), Chunderconah, Ghatal, Bagnan and Ampta. Baidyabati and Chinsura have since been added, while, on the other hand, Chunderconah and Ghatal have been transferred to Midnapur, and Bagnan and Ampta to Howrah.

|| In this year, Ward and Marshman, on being driven out of the dominions of the East India Company, took refuge in Danish Serampur, where they were joined by Carey from Malda early in the next year. Here they set up a printing press, managed by Ward, and while Carey was engaged in translating the Bible into Bengali, Marshman preached, and both he and his wife opened schools. All these undertakings prospered exceedingly well : the receipts from the schools sometimes amounted to Rs. 4,000 a month. Shortly afterwards, Carey was appointed Professor of Sanscrit in the College of Fort William in Calcutta. In 1812 they founded the Serampur College, which is still in existence. To these large-hearted pioneers of education, the inhabitants of the district owe an immense debt of gratitude.

the character of the village paiks, and recommending a more efficient safeguard against dacoities * which were unfortunately then becoming too common. Some steps were taken to arrest the rapid course of crime, but they failed to restore peace. The dacoits continued their ravages, and no man's life or property was safe. In 1808 the dacoities in the district amounted to over a hundred. In the year following, Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell drew a most harrowing picture of the heartless enormities committed by the dacoits, which was followed up by a despatch from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors describing the terrible state of affairs. The result was that a Superintendent of Police was appointed to hunt down the dacoits by means of *goindahs*. † Of all the districts of the Calcutta Division, Hooghly suffered the most from their depredations. ‡

* Dacoity was not an outcome of British rule; it had been in existence long previously. But during the transition period, when peace was striving for supremacy, it stalked over the land with giant strides. The terrible famine of 1770 added much to its strength, by compelling many people to take to highway robbery. Weak as the Police was at the time, the dacoits ravaged the country with impunity, and even went to the length of attacking the red coats of the Company. Hunter, in his "Annals of Rural Bengal," says that in 1780, they burnt to ashes 15,000 houses and 200 souls in Calcutta. In fact, even Anglo-Indians lived in the utmost dread, and until they had well secured their household goods for the night, they would never unbolt their doors.

Among these dacoits was one Sham Mullick, who was the head of a very powerful gang. But though a robber by profession, his mind possessed a certain degree of nobleness, and he was much vexed that the great pundit, Jagannath Tarkapanchanan, who had got together a large amount of money, should not make a proper use of it. Accordingly one night he, with a sturdy body of followers, broke into his house at Tribeni, and, taking his seat in the outer courtyard, ordered his men at once to bring the old pundit before him, that he might reprimand him for his miserly habits. Every search was made, but the pundit was nowhere to be found, for, in the confusion which followed the first attack, he had managed to make his escape. Sham Mullick, thus disappointed of his main object, gave the signal for retirement, and the whole party, headed by their chief, walked out of the house in the same state in which they had entered it. This event took place some years before the death of Jagannath, who breathed his last in Assin 1214 B. S., corresponding to September 1807 A. D., at the patriarchal age of one hundred and thirteen years. Uma Charan Bhattacharjee's *Life of Jagannath Tarkapanchanan*. 1880 A. D.

† This system of espionage worked remarkably well, exemplifying the good old adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief." The word "goindah" means an informer.

‡ About this time "Radha Dacoit" was the head of the dacoits on this side the river. By his ruinous ravages, he had introduced a "reign of terror." The Sultan of Morocco is not more tamely obeyed by his slaves than this prince of dacoits was by his fellows. He was a man of very great pluck and power, and in the course of his wild career, had performed very wonderful exploits. He might be called a hero in a certain sense

Mr. Brooke was succeeded by Mr. Ernest, who, in addition to his proper title of Judge-Magistrate, was, in 1809, also styled "Superintendent and Commissioner of Chinsura, * Chandernagore † and Serampur," ‡ these cities having in the interim, come into the hands of the English.

But though the powers of its official head were extended and enlarged, Hooghly was anything but a respectable-looking town. Early in June 1814, the Magistrate described it as "a small straggling town." In order to improve its condition, the Municipal law, as embodied in Regulation XIII of 1813, was introduced into it in the following year, and sixty Chaukidars were appointed to the two main sections, Bali and Gholeghat, into which the town was divided. The law thus introduced had its desired effect, and the Magistrate was able to report § that "since the establishment of the Chaukidars in the town of Hooghly, there have been no robberies or thefts." Hooghly prospered under the rule of Mr. D. C. Smyth, who was appointed its Judge-Magistrate about 1816. This officer, whose name has become a household word in the land, was a very able man, and he laboured for the district with admirable zeal and energy. Not long after he had taken charge, his attention was called to the affairs of the local Imambara. The

of the term, but he died a convict's death. The hour of retribution drew nigh, and he was arrested at a harlot's house, tried by the Judge of Hooghly, and sentenced to suffer the extreme penalty of the law. The sentence was duly executed, and the corpse was carefully disposed of, lest the mother of the "great dacoit," by her marvellous powers in the black art, should, as she had boasted, conjure up such a dangerous character by muttering some mystic *mantras* over the bones.

What Radha was on this side the river, Bissonath Bagdi was on the other side. Strong in men who were all desperate characters, Bissonath carried on his depredations without let or hindrance. But though he robbed the rich, he was very kind to the poor, whose wants he never failed to supply, after the manner of the well-known robber of Sherwood Forest. To distinguish him from the rest of his class, he was called "Bissonath Baboo." Baidyanath and Pitamber were only second to Bissonath. Many of the Nadia dacoits were arrested in 1808, A. D., and several of them paid dearly for their crimes on the gallows. Kartikeya Chunder Roy's *Accounts of the Nadia Raj Family*, pp 27-28.

* Chinsura was taken possession of by the English on the 28th July, 1795, and they did not restore it to the Dutch until the 20th September, 1817. It was finally ceded to them in 1824.

† Chandernagore was captured for the second time by the English in 1794, and it continued in their hands till 1815, when it was given up.

‡ Serampur was taken by the English in 1808, and it was not restored to the Danes until the Waterloo year. It was finally ceded to the English in 1845, when the Hon'ble L. Lindhard was its Governor. Serampur is held *khas* by Government, and is under the management of an officer who is called the *Khas Tehsildar*.

§ This report, it would seem, was prepared at the request of the Governor-General himself, who made a progress through some parts of the district in that year.

two Matwalis having mismanaged the trust property, Government stepped in and interfered under Regulation XIX of 1810. Syed Ali Akbar Khan was appointed, in September 1815, as "Ameen, or Controller of the funds of the Institution," and the Local Agents, of whom Mr. Smyth was the chief, were instructed to make a full and searching inquiry into the affairs of the Imambarah in concert with him. The report drawn up by Mr Smyth in 1817 was a masterpiece of its kind, and received high commendation from the Board of Revenue. He showed, beyond doubt, that the Matwalis had misappropriated nearly fifteen thousand rupees; and the result was that, in August 1818, they were dismissed, and Ali Akbar Khan was appointed in their place. The latter continued to hold the office till 1836, when he, too, was removed for a similar offence.

Hooghly had, it is true, much improved, but there was wanting a Collector to make it a full-formed district. This want, however, was before long satisfied. In 1817 Mr. A. Ogilvie was deputed to it as Assistant Collector. He may be considered the first Sub-Divisional officer ever appointed to the district. In 1819 a further advance was made by the appointment of Mr. R. Saunders as "Collector of Government Customs and Town Duties at Hooghly," with the power of collecting the land revenue and the sayer duties in the *mehals*, then under the Assistant Collector. This state of things continued till the 1st May, 1822, when Hooghly became a full Collectorate.* The Collector, Mr. W. H. Belli, was ordered to go to Burdwan, and sort and bring away the records belonging to his charge. The land revenue of the new district was Rs. 11,23,474, and the stamp, abkari, and other revenue about Rs 76,526, making in all twelve lakhs of sicca rupees, as against thirty lakhs, which remained as the revenue of Burdwan and the Jungle Mehals.†

But although Hooghly was made a full Collectorate in 1822, still the office of Collector of Customs and Town Duties was not amalgamated with that of the Collector of land revenue. This position of affairs continued till 1827, when the two offices were joined in one and the same person. For this addition to his duties, the Collector was allowed Rs. 200 over and above

* Dr. Hunter, however, gives a different account. He writes :—"The revenue jurisdiction of the district of Hugli with Howrah was established in 1819. Prior to that year it had formed a part of the Burdwan Collectorate, although it had been created a District Magistracy some years previously. The Resolution constituting the district of Hugli is dated 26th February, 1819. Mr. R. Saunders, the first Collector, was appointed on the 1st March 1819."—*Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 253.

† See Mr. G. Toynbee's *Administration of the Hooghly District from 1795 to 1845*, p. 32. This very useful publication has been of considerable service to me in the preparation of some portions of this article.

his pay and commission. Afterwards, on 1st May, 1836, the Customs office was abolished, and with it the allowance of Rs. 200 of which the Collector had been in receipt. Mr. Belli made a very feeling representation to Government regarding his loss, but it does not appear that his appeal was listened to.*

VI.

Interesting Events in Hooghly from 1823 to 1837.

The Dutch had made Chinsura "the cynosure of neighbouring eyes," but with the decline of their Indian trade it lost much of its former attractions. At last, matters came to such a pitiable pass, that the painful resolution was formed to part with it. Mr. D. A. Overbeck, its last Governor, gave his reluctant consent to the proposal, and negotiations were at once opened with the English for its transfer. While the terms were being settled, a serious natural calamity overtook this part of the country. This was the memorable "flood of '30," which is still talked of by "the oldest inhabitant" as an event that has no parallel in the rural annals of Bengal. The river Hooghly † rose to an unprecedented height. Dharampur, Mulla Kasim's Hât, and Bali, all in the town, were entirely submerged, and the roads rendered impassable. The portions of the town which were above water were crowded with men, women and children, who had come from the interior with their household goods and cattle. Prompt steps were taken by the Judge-Magistrate, Mr. Smyth, for their relief and protection. Temporary huts or sheds were put up for their accommodation, and food to the value of Rs 123 was distributed gratis to the weakest, and Rs 138 was spent as wages of the able-bodied who were employed on the station roads. It was at this time that the old Mogul fort and the buildings which had been in the possession of Nabob Khan Jehan Khan up to his death, were pulled down, and the materials thereof were partly utilised and partly sold. In the flood, Pargana Mandalghat ‡, which then formed a part of the district, would appear to have suffered the most. The Collector, Mr. W. H. Belli, was ordered to proceed thither and ascertain by actual inspection the amount of damage sustained by the ryots. His report disclosed a most

* Mr. Belli remained in the district for a long period. Though his name is not so much known or honoured as that of Mr. D. C. Smyth, still there is no doubt that he deserved well of its people, in whose welfare he took considerable interest. During the nearly 20 years for which he was in charge of the Collectorate, he seems to have availed himself of leave for a few months only.

† The *little Ganges* is more commonly called the *River Hooghly*.—Orme's *Industan*, Vol. II.

‡ Mandalghat is now included in the district of Midnapur. It is the Zamindari of the well-known Seal family of Calcutta.

lamentable state of things. But, serious as the calamity was, it was not followed by disastrous consequences. There was no famine, or even scarcity, such being the wonderful recuperative powers of the soil and the people of the district.

A few days after the flood, the sepoy's mutinied at Barrackpur. In this matter, too, the Magistrate of Hooghly acted with his usual energy, and his efforts were crowned with success. He promptly sent the Police *burkundazes* to the scene, and, as good luck would have it, they succeeded in arresting forty-five mutineers, of whom twelve were executed on the spot. This had a very wonderful effect, and the mutiny, which would otherwise have assumed a very serious aspect, was at once quelled.

Regulation XIII of 1813 was introduced into the town of Hooghly early in June the following year; but defects in its working having come to light, it was amended by Regulation XXII of 1816, and this law contains the first provisions made for conservancy, lighting and other municipal purposes. In 1825 nearly Rs. 2,000 was spent on the improvement of the town, from the surplus town duties levied under Regulation X of 1810. This was followed up by a further expenditure of Rs. 4,768 in 1829. The road near the Collector's *kutchery* was widened; the large tank opposite the Civil Court buildings, the Pipalpati and some other tanks in the town were excavated; trees were planted by the road sides, and several of the roads were metalled with brick. Some conservancy "carts" were also purchased, and "a staff of scavengers" was entertained to work them.*

In 1828, the well-known Zemindar, Baboo Prankrishna Halidar, made a gift of Rs. 13,000 for a masonry bridge over the river Saraswati, at Tribeni.† The bridge was built by Mr. Goss. The donor, in recognition of his munificence, was allowed the privilege of entertaining six sepoy's as sentries at the gate of his splendid dwelling house (the present College building). In the same year a suspension bridge was also constructed at Nauserai from money raised by public subscription "under the auspices of Mr. D. C. Smyth."

In 1829,‡ Mr. Smyth signalled his administration of the dis-

* See Mr. Toynbee's *Administration of the Hooghly District*, page 124.

† *Tribeni* is not the name of a place, it means the *confluence of three streams*. There are several such spots in India, but the most sacred of them all, in the eyes of an orthodox Hindoo, are those at Sâtgâon and Allahabad. The former is called the *South Priyag*, the latter *North Priyag*:—They are the *Kings of holy places*.—See also Raghunandan's *Prayaschitta Tatwa*.

‡ In this year the Courts of Circuit were abolished, and their duties were transferred to the Commissioners of Circuit, who were likewise Commissioners of Revenue. But, this plan being found very inconvenient, the Zillah Judges in 1832, were, with few exceptions, vested with the powers of the former Courts of Circuit which they have ever since exercised in their capacity of Sessions Judges.

trict by another act of public utility, which still bears his name. We refer to the handsome masonry *ghat* near the Civil Court buildings. This *ghat*, as the tablet shows, was built from subscriptions given by some of the Zemindars, Government amlah and muktears; and the *chandni*, by Baboo Chhaku Ram Singh of Bhástará alone, at a cost of Rs. 3,000. The Baboo was one of the most public-spirited and enlightened land-holders in the district, and many were the acts done by him for the public good. His character stood very high, and he was kind and even indulgent to his happy tenantry. The Magistrate commended this gentleman to the special notice of Government, and asked that he might be "decorated." But it does not appear that his recommendation was complied with. However, he was known as the "Baboo" par excellence. In the same year the Raja of Burdwan gave Rs. 36,000 for the construction of a masonry bridge across the Kunti Nálá, at Magra. The bridge was probably built by Captain Vetch, and is still in existence. In consideration of his princely gift, the Raja was allowed to have badges for his peons. The old circuit-house was also built at or about the same time. It is now used as the Courts of the Joint-Magistrate and the Bench Magistrates, and some other offices.

In 1830 Hooghly witnessed the beginning of a noble undertaking which has borne good fruits—the great Trigonometrical Survey was commenced by Mr. Oliver. The operations were suspended in June 1831, and resumed in March following. In 1843 they were again carried on, the spacious roof of the Hooghly College buildings being selected as the first station. The survey parties experienced the greatest difficulties from obstruction on the part of the inhabitants, most of whom did not at all understand the laudable object which Government had in making the survey. There was, therefore, considerable delay, and as a matter of fact, the operations were not finally concluded until after 1845.

In 1832, a wholesome change was made in the mode of administration, the offices of Judge and Magistrate, which had hitherto been combined, being separated. This separation was not only desirable but necessary, as it had become almost impossible for one officer to perform the duties of both offices. Besides, it was deemed inadvisable to keep the judicial and executive powers in one and the same person. Mr. Smyth continued Judge, while another gentleman was appointed Magistrate.* This change in the administration was followed in the

* Dr. Hunter, however, places the event in the year 1829. He says that "up to 1829, a single officer exercised the powers of Judge and Magistrate throughout the entire district of Hooghly with Howrah; but owing to an increase in both departments, the offices were separated on the 26th September 1829, and Mr. H. B. Brownlow was appointed Magistrate of the district, the civil jurisdiction remaining with the Judge."—Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol III in 253.

next year by a change in the aspect of the district, which was caused by a storm* of "incredible violence," that swept over the land on the 21st May. It blew a perfect hurricane for full six hours, accompanied by heavy rain, and the damage done was immense. Almost every embankment in the district was destroyed. But the after effects were more serious still ; sickness prevailed to an alarming extent, insomuch that civil and criminal business was almost brought to a stand-still.

The year 1834 is memorable for a noble act of Mr. Smyth's in the direction of education. It appears that from before 1824 Government had been supporting fourteen schools with a monthly grant of Rs. 800. These schools were situated on both sides of the river, and were the only schools available in these parts, except the Hooghly Imambara school and the Chinsura Free school. The Government, for reasons best known to itself, withdrew the grant from the 1st of November 1832, but it offered to make over the school-houses (with the furniture) and keep them in repair, should any parties be willing to carry on the schools as private institutions. Unfortunately, no one came forward to accept the offer, in spite of the efforts of Mr. Lewis Betts, the late Superintendent of the schools, in that direction. At last, Mr. Smyth, the Judge, came to the rescue and founded the present Branch School. The Government gave the site, measuring two bighas and seven cottahs, and the funds for the building and other expenses were raised by subscription among the principal zemindars of the district, the noble founder also giving his own quota.† To indicate the source from which it was established, the school was called the "Subscription School;"‡

* Like the great tempest of November 1703, which Addison, in his well-known poem of the *Campaign*, describes,—

"Such as, of late o'er pale Britainia pass'd."

† The tablet in the school hall contains the following inscription. "This school-house was erected in 1834 under the patronage of D. C. Smyth Esquire, Judge and Magistrate of Hooghly, with the funds subscribed by the following gentlemen and others :

D. C. Smyth Esquire.
 Maharajah Dhiraj Mahatab Chunder Bahadoor.
 Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore.
 Baboo Callynath Moonshee.
 Baboo Pran Chunder Roy.
 Baboo Sheebnaran Chowdery.
 Baboo Ramnaran Mookerjee.

Opened on the 4th December 1837 as a Branch School to the College of Mohammad Mushen.

T. A. WISE, Principle."

‡ Baboo Ishan Chunder Bannerjee, who is so well-known in the education department, was the first Head-master of this school. He afterwards became a professor in the Hooghly College, where he, with his very worthy brother, the late Baboo Mohesh Chunder Bannerjee, taught for years together. Baboo Ishan Chunder is still living, spending most of his time in reading and study.

and it continued to be so called until the 4th December 1837, when it was opened as a branch school of the College of Mohammad Mohsin. With this school was subsequently associated the Madrassa attached to the Imambara. Baboo Parvati Charan Sircar, elder brother of the well-known educationist, the late lamented Baboo Peary Charan Sircar, was the first Head-master of the Branch School. This institution flourished well under the fostering care of its founder, who is still remembered as a public benefactor, a just and humane Judge, and a true friend of the people.

In 1836 there were many brave doings in Hooghly, the first and foremost of which was the opening of the Hooghly College, established through the munificence of a wealthy Mahomedan, * who, in 1812, left his large property *in pious usus*. We have already seen that the two Matwalis were dismissed by Government in consequence of their having misappropriated trust funds to the tune of Rs. 15,000. So far from remaining satisfied with the orders of Government, they filed a civil suit to contest the legality of their dismissal. The litigation dragged its slow length along, and terminated in their total discomfiture in 1835.† It was found that, during this long period, the surplus of the Mohsin funds had accumulated to over eight lakhs of rupees. Out of this large sum, the Hooghly College was established. The splendid edifice, now occupied by the college, was built by a Frenchman named Perron,‡ in 1810. He came out to India in 1774 as a common sailor on a French frigate, and afterwards, entering the service of Scindia, rose to eminence, and amassed a fortune which was believed to have amounted to half a crore of rupees. Having retired from service, he settled down at Chinsura and built the edifice in question. There he lived like a prince. From his possession the building passed to Baboo Pran Krishna Halidar, who converted it into a palace of pleasure. When fickle fortune frowned upon Pran Krishna, Baboo Jagomohan Seal, of the same place, caused it to be sold in execution of a civil court decree, in 1834, and purchased it himself. It was from

* The stone in the College Hall bears the following inscription: "This College was established through the munificence of the late Mohammad Moshin, and was opened on the 1st August 1836."

† By the bye, I may mention that in this year, rupees were *first* issued in the name of an English King, the Company's coinage having hitherto been issued in the name of the Mogul Emperor.—See S. L. Poole's *Catalogues of Oriental Coins*.

‡ General Perron must not be confounded with the great Orientalist of that name, who was present at Chandernagore when it was captured by Clive, in March, 1757. The latter was a very learned scholar and linguist. Born 1731; died 1805. For further particulars regarding the General, see Col. G. B. Malleson's article, "Foreign Adventurers in India," in the *Calcutta Review*, 1877.

Jagomohan that it was bought for Rs. 20,000 for the new College, which was opened on the 1st August, 1836. Dr. Thomas A. Wise, the Civil Surgeon, was its first Principal, and he continued to occupy the post till 1839, when he left the district, on being appointed Secretary to the General Committee of Public Instruction in Calcutta. About ten years afterwards, the well-known Captain D. L. Richardson was appointed Principal. He was succeeded by Mr. James Kerr, and the latter by Mr. Robert Thwaytes, who held the post for a considerable period. The present incumbent is Mr. Booth, who, like his immediate predecessor, Mr. Griffiths, has the reputation of being an able mathematician.

The "Joykissen Mookerjee affair," as Mr. Toynbee calls it, also took place in 1836. The Baboo had been appointed record-keeper of the Collectorate by the Collector, Mr. Belli, who entertained a high opinion of his ability and energy. In addition to his duties as record-keeper, he had to see to the exchange of Dutch for English pattahs of the Chinsura ryots. It was in the *bonâ fide* discharge of this special duty that he got into a serious scrape. The Revenue Board's orders regarding the exchange of pattahs were extremely unpopular with the ryots, and it was only natural that Baboo Joykissen, who was very strict in carrying them out, should have become an object of dislike to them. So, when, in the cold weather of 1835-36, the Commissioner, Mr. Evelyn Gordon, visited Hooghly, they in a body went up to him with a petition charging the Baboo with taking fees for himself on the issue of English pattahs. The Commissioner sent the petition on to the Collector with a private note saying that he "believed it all." But as no specific charge was made, the latter returned it, stating that he could not proceed regularly under the provisions of Regulation XIII of 1793. The Board then ordered the Commissioner to inquire into the matter personally. He did so, and the result was that Baboo Joykissen was dismissed.* The report of the Commissioner was quite out of the ordinary run of such documents, for, instead of confining himself to condemning the character of the party accused, he made some uncalled-for reflections upon the conduct of the Collector him-

* To compare great things with small, Joykissen's dismissal from the Collectorate "Duftar," like Lord Bacon's removal from the "Marble Chair," proved a great blessing. From that date, he commenced the rôle of a patriot, and soon distinguished himself. Indeed, there was not a public movement in which he did not take a part, and his words of wisdom were always listened to with the attention they deserved. Whatever may have been his faults, they were counter balanced by his good qualities. Take him all in all, we shall not find his like again. Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, C. S. I., who is well-known for his public spirit, is the worthy son of such a worthy sire.

self. But Mr. Belli was not the man to pocket such an insult, and he accordingly vented his spleen in a manner which showed that he was a better master of the language of abuse than his detractor. As to the merits of the case, the Collector was perfectly justified in condemning the proceedings of the Commissioner, for a calm and impartial consideration of all the papers on the subject shows that great injustice was done to Baboo Joykissen, who was merely the victim of a foul conspiracy on the part of the Chinsura ryots.

The year 1836 also witnessed a change in the official language of the Courts, the Bengalee superseding the Persian. This change was justly considered one of the greatest blessings that British rule had conferred upon the country. The Persian, however, was still retained for correspondence, but whenever possible, the English language was to be used. The English, were also substituted for the Bengali months, in the revenue accounts. As a necessary consequence of these changes, the staff in the English Department was increased.

A somewhat sensational case marks the year 1837. Three Moonsiffs made a serious complaint against the District Judge, Mr. C. R. Martin, who was thereupon suspended pending further inquiry. One Noona Bai also came forward and charged him with having received money from her under promise of bestowing Moonsiffes on certain persons named by her. At the same time, the Government pleader, Tafazzal Hosein, was suspended on a charge of taking a large amount of money from a client on the plea that it was required to be paid to the Judge, according to "dustoor," or custom, in order to win the case. A full inquiry was held under the provisions of Regulation XVII of 1813, the result of which was the vindication of the Judge's character, and the dismissal of the Government pleader, who was succeeded in the office by Baboo Prosunno Coomar Tagore. Noona-Bai was prosecuted for perjury and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment.* It does not appear what became of the Moonsiffs.

The Collectorate also was not without its disturbance. In it was brought to light a case of embezzlement which covered a period of five years, beginning with September 1832. It was found that no less than Rs. 16,023 had been misappropriated by the mohurrirs concerned, from sums paid to Government under the heads of fines, ferry-funds, and escheats. The defalcation was made good by the luckless treasurer. It does not clearly appear what punishment, if any, was inflicted upon the guilty parties, beyond dismissal.

The first systematic attempt at "numbering the people" was also made in 1837. The procedure adopted by the Magistrate

* See G. Toynbee's *Administration*, p. 146.

Mr. Samuells, was to send out blank forms to gomastas, village headmen, and zemindars, with orders to fill in and return them. On receipt, the papers were made over to the Police darogahs for check and scrutiny. The result of this census, if we may so call it, showed an aggregate population of 1,508,843 souls in the whole district, inclusive of 70,025 in the town.

SHUMBHOO CHUNDER DEY.

ART. V.—PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION IN ITALY.

The Law dealing with the Protection of Public Health and Sanitation in Italy was passed on the 22nd December 1888, and the Regulation for the application of the said Law was promulgated on the 9th October 1889.*

THE SANITARY ADMINISTRATION.

THE Sanitary Administration is carried on by Prefects, Sub-Prefects and Mayors (*sindaci*),† the whole department being subordinate to the Minister of the Interior, who has under him a Central Sanitary Board. There is a Provincial Sanitary Board in every Province under the Prefect; and also a Provincial Medical Officer. There is a Sanitary Medical Officer in every commune. Communes, either singly or in unison with other communes, are bound to provide gratuitous medical assistance for the poor: and, in certain places, for animals also. They are also bound to look after sanitation.

THE CENTRAL SANITARY BOARD.

The Central Sanitary Board is composed as follows:—

Of five doctors of medicine and surgery, possessing special knowledge of public hygiene; two expert sanitary engineers; two naturalists; two chemists; a veterinary surgeon; a druggist; a lawyer, and two persons expert in administration. At least six of them must reside in the capital. They are appointed by Royal Decree, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior, remain in office for three years, and can be re-appointed. They are paid for attendance at meetings. The following officers also form a part of the said Board: the Head of the Sanitary office of the Minister of the Interior, a medical inspector of the Military sanitary body, a medical inspector of the Maritime sanitary body, the Procurator General at the Court of Appeal in Rome, the Director General of Mercantile Marine, the Director General of Statistics, and the Director General of Agriculture. The composition of the Italian Board forms a striking contrast to the composi-

* Regulations for giving effect to laws, framing rules, determining matters of detail, and generally containing provisions for the due and proper administration of a law, are passed by the Executive Government. In India rules framed by Local Governments, Boards of Revenue, &c., have the force of law only if the power to frame such rules is given in the Act itself.

† The *Sindaco* is the equivalent of the *Maire* of a French Commune.

tion of the Central Sanitary Board for Bengal. It is, perhaps, advisable to give the latter a legislative basis and some legal powers.

It is the duty of the Central Sanitary Board to devote its attention to facts concerning the public health and sanitation of the kingdom ; to propose such measures, inquiries and scientific researches as it may deem necessary, and to give its opinion on questions referred to it by the Minister of the Interior. The latter is bound to consult it in certain matters, for instance, on hygienic questions of principle, and when appeals are preferred against the decisions of Prefects and Provincial Sanitary Boards. Half the members of the Board form a quorum ; but if the Board is convened only to give an opinion urgently asked for by the Minister, it is sufficient if half the members resident in the capital are present. Ordinary meetings are held six times a year, and extraordinary meetings whenever the Minister thinks fit to convene them.

THE PROVINCIAL BOARD OF HEALTH.

The Kingdom of Italy is divided into a certain number of Provinces, and each Province has its own Board of Health. The composition of the Provincial Board of Health is as follows : two doctors of medicine and surgery, an expert in chemistry, a lawyer, a druggist, a veterinary doctor, an engineer, and a person skilled in administration. But in the province of Rome, and in those provinces which have not less than a million inhabitants, there must be four doctors and three engineers ; and in provinces with not less than 500,000 inhabitants there must be three doctors and two engineers. The members of the Provincial Board are appointed by Royal Decree, on the nomination of the Minister of the Interior. They remain in office three years, and can be re-appointed. The Prefect* is President of the Board, and the Procurator of the King, attached to the Civil and Correctional Court, and the Provincial doctor are members of it.

The Board has the same duties, *quoad* the province, as the Central Board has for the kingdom, the Prefect occupying the place of the Minister of the Interior. On certain matters the Prefect is bound to consult the Provincial Board ; for instance, in the matter of rules regarding rice-cultivation, the steeping of textile plants, supervision of manufacturing and agricultural industries, the annual sanitary report to the Minister of the Interior, and appeals in certain matters against the decisions of Mayors. The Board meets four times a year and also whenever called by the Prefect.

* The nearest Indian equivalent of the French or Italian Prefect is the District Magistrate.

THE PROVINCIAL DOCTOR.

The Provincial doctor is appointed by Royal Decree, and can hold, in addition to his official post, some other post of practice or teaching, provided it be in the capital of the province, where he must reside. He must have held his degree for not less than five years, be over 45 years of age, and must have gone through a special practical course in one of the State laboratories of hygiene.

The principal duties of the Provincial doctor are to correspond with the communal sanitary officials regarding the public health and sanitation, to supervise the sanitary department, sanitary institutions, and the execution of sanitary laws and regulations throughout the Province; to keep the Prefect informed of all matters relating to the public health, and to propose measures urgently called for by the prevalence of sickness or insanitation; to inspect drug shops, assisted, where necessary, by a chemist or a pharmacist; and to submit an annual report on the sanitary condition of the Province, summarizing the information and statistics submitted by communes, noticing prevention and punitive measures, and giving a list of the sanitary works completed, and of those still considered necessary.* There are also doctors for each district (*circondario*), and the reports from communes go through them to the Provincial doctor. They stand much in the same position to the Sub-Prefect as the Provincial doctor does to the Prefect.†

THE COMMUNAL HEALTH OFFICER.

The appointed doctor of the commune is the Communal Health Officer, where there are no other doctors. In communes, where several doctors reside, the health officer is appointed by the Prefect, on the nomination of the communal council, and after consulting the Provincial Sanitary Board. He remains in office for three years, and is eligible for re-appointment. In communes which have a special health office, the head of the said office is made the Communal Health Officer, with the previous approval of the Prefect. Preference is always given to those who have made a special and practical study of practical hygiene.

It is the duty of the Communal Health Officer to supervise the hygienic and sanitary conditions of the commune, to inform the Provincial Doctor and the Mayor of the commune of all matters which, in the interests of the public health, call

* This would form an excellent list of duties for an Indian Civil Surgeon.

† It would be far from correct to say that the Italian Prefect and Sub-Prefect are the equivalent of the Indian District Magistrate and Sub-Divisional Officer. But they may be regarded as the nearest equivalent. The Syndic is the principal administrative officer in a Commune.

for special and extraordinary measures, and of all breaches of the law or sanitary Regulations; to assist the Mayor in sanitary matters; and to collect all the materials for the annual report on the sanitary condition of the commune.

MEDICAL AID AND RELIEF IN COMMUNES.

In communes where there are no private practitioners, there must be at least one surgeon-doctor and one midwife, paid by the commune, with the obligation of gratuitous attendance on the poor. Where there are several private practitioners, the commune must appoint one or more doctors and midwives, according to the population, for the relief of the poor. But where there are charitable institutions with such objects, Municipalities are relieved from the obligation, or only obliged to supplement the work of the private institutions. Where communes are too poor or too small to have a separate doctor and midwife, they are obliged to unite with other communes, in accordance with rules approved by the Prefect, after consulting the Provincial Sanitary Board. The appointed doctors and midwives are on probation for three years and then become permanent. After they have become permanent, they can be dismissed only for specified reasons, with the approval of the Prefect. An appeal lies to the Minister of the Interior against the decision of the Prefect.

In case of difference, the Provincial Sanitary Board determines, on the report of the Provincial Doctor, how many doctors and midwives must be entertained in each commune for the service of the poor. An appeal lies to the Minister of the Interior.

Where several communes* are joined in one union, they are represented by a body composed of their respective Mayors, presided over by the Mayor of the principal commune. If communes refuse to join such unions, the matter is decided by the Provincial Administrative Committee. Any commune dissatisfied with their decision may appeal to the Minister of the Interior, whose decision (after hearing the Superior Board of Health and Council of State) is final. The regulations for such unions must specify the conditions of the joint sanitary service, the pay of the sanitary officer, and the amount to be contributed thereto by each commune, the conditions for pension, the place where the doctor must reside, and the rights and duties of the doctor, surgeon, or midwife in each commune. The Municipal Committee in each commune must compile a

* The whole of Italy is mapped out into so many communes, just as Bengal would be mapped out into so many unions, supposing unions were established under the Local Self-Government Act. A commune in Italy may be a town of several hundred thousand inhabitants, or its capital may be a mere village.

list of the poor entitled to gratuitous medical relief, and make it over to the doctor, surgeon, and midwife. This rule might with advantage be followed in Bengal Municipalities.

MEDICAL SUPERVISION OF ANIMALS AND CATTLE DISEASE.

In every Province the sanitary supervision of animals is entrusted to a Provincial Veterinary doctor selected by the Minister. Where the quantity of the cattle and the extent of the Province require it, the Prefect can appoint other veterinary doctors, in other communes of the Province, to help the Provincial doctor. The Provincial Veterinary doctor watches over the health of animals in the interests of public health, and with this object causes inspections to be made by his assistants of cattle-yards, shambles, and meat-shops. He informs the Prefect of the appearance of epizootic disease, and proposes measures for preventing its diffusion.

The Prefect, after consulting the Provincial Board of Health, can compel any commune, either alone or in conjunction with other communes, to appoint a Municipal Veterinary doctor, when such an appointment is clearly necessary in the interests of the public health. Such an appointment must be made when the breeding or sale of cattle is one of the principal industries of the place, or when diseases of a contagious kind habitually prevail in it. In addition to veterinary treatment, the doctor must watch over the sanitary condition of cattle, must give information of every case of contagious disease, and carry out measures for arresting the spread of contagion; he must ascertain the cause of death, whether accidental or from disease, to determine whether the flesh may be used or must be destroyed*; he must look after the hygienic arrangements of the cattle-yards and the sanitary condition of the animals destined to the production of milk; he must inspect slaughter-houses and meat-shops; and must submit a report at the end of each year on the sanitary condition of the cattle in his circle, with suggestions for the improvement of their breed.†

Veterinary doctors are also established on the frontiers and at the ports of the kingdom for the purpose of examining every kind of animals, or parts of animals entering the State, and prohibiting the import of those affected with contagious disease or suspected of being so.

* It is said that enormous quantities of beef which, to say the least, is in a state which is noxious as food, are consumed by Mahomedans in India.

† Contrast this with the absolute absence of administration in such matters in Bengal. When cattle disease is more than usually fatal, it is reported by the Police, but no action is taken. There is neither law nor administrative regulation. A District Officer on tour finds perhaps that hundreds of cattle have died from disease in a single thana. He

THE EXERCISE OF SANITARY AND COGNATE PROFESSIONS.

The exercise of the following professions is subject to special supervision : medicine and surgery, the veterinary art, pharmacy and midwifery. This supervision extends to the preparation, conservation and sale of medicines. The following persons also are subject to supervision in regard to the public health : druggists, perfumers, colourmen, liquor-sellers, confectioners, makers and sellers of chemical products and pharmaceutical preparations, distilled waters, volatile oils, mineral waters and earths, and every kind of artificial food substance and drink.

The Provincial doctors and communal sanitary officials can proceed at any time to inspect such shops and articles. When any infringement of the law is discovered, as illicit sale, or sale of substances injurious to health, a report is drawn up by the Secretary of the commune. The articles are seized and closed and sealed with the seal of the Secretary and also of the offender. If the latter refuses to seal, mention of the refusal is made in the inquiry record. This record must be received in any trial as conclusive proof of the facts. Articles suspected to be injurious to health are similarly liable to seizure ; and pending their analysis, their sale or distribution is forbidden.

No one can exercise the profession of doctor or surgeon, veterinary doctor, pharmacist, dentist, phlebotomist or midwife, unless he or she is of age and has the prescribed degree or diploma. This prohibition does not apply to foreign doctors and surgeons expressly called in, in special cases, or to those who have foreign diplomas and attend foreigners only. The possession of several diplomas or patents gives the right to the cumulative exercise of the corresponding branches of the healing art, *except that pharmacy cannot be exercised along with any other profession*. In communes, however, where there is no pharmacy, and those of the adjacent communes are very distant and difficult of access, the Prefect can authorise the local doctor to keep a pharmaceutical chest (*armadio pharmaceutico*) with him. In the head sanitary office of every Province must be kept a register of all those exercising any branch of the medical profession. Similarly a register is kept for each commune, which is open to inspection by the public. A special

notes the fact in his cold weather tour diary, and thereby consigns it to oblivion. A little substantive law and administration in matters which vitally concern an agricultural community, would confer more happiness and prosperity on them, than constant tinkering of Procedure Codes and Limitation Acts. The present Lieutenant-Governor has recently started an Institution, the ultimate effect of which will perhaps be that there will be some supervision of the sanitary condition of cattle through the agency of District Boards. But these Boards at present have hardly sufficient funds to establish and maintain proper communications.

regulation deals with the duties of midwives, and the operations they are permitted to perform.

Persons exercising the medical profession are legally bound to inform the Provincial doctor of facts and circumstances which may concern the public health. In every case of death they must inform the Mayor of the disease which has caused it.

No one can open a pharmacy without giving previous intimation to the Prefect, and every pharmacy intended for public use, or for the service of hospitals or other Civil or Military institutions, must have at its head, a certificated and approved druggist living at it permanently. Only druggists can sell medicines in doses, or medicinal substances made up as medicines. It is an offence, punishable with a fine of not less than 200 lira, to sell or distribute substances or preparations declared to be secret remedies or specifics, which have not been approved by the superior Board of Health,* or to attribute to them, on the labels or in public advertisements, a different composition from what they have, or special virtues and therapeutic properties not recognised by the said Board. In case of a second offence, the offender can be imprisoned for 15 days. Pharmacies must be supplied with the medicinal substances compulsorily prescribed in the Pharmacopeia, approved by the Minister of the Interior, after consulting the Superior Board of Health, and a copy of the said Pharmacopeia (which is revised every five years) must be kept in every pharmacy. The keeping of imperfect, spoilt, or noxious medicines is punishable with a fine of 100 lira and with the suspension of license in case of second offence ; while to make up medicines not corresponding in quality or quantity to the medical prescriptions, is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, or with imprisonment which may extend to a year. Inspecting officers may at once destroy any medicines found to be unserviceable, spoilt, or adulterated ;† if the owner objects, the medicines are impounded pending proceedings, a sample being returned to the owner.

It is an offence punishable with fine of 500 lira and imprisonment which may extend to one year, for any person not specially authorised to make, sell, or distribute poisons. Those who are authorised to keep poisons, or to use them in their art or profession, must keep them under lock and key, and in a receptacle showing that they are poisons. Pharmacists are bound to keep a copy of all prescriptions which they make up ; if they make up poisons, they have to keep the *original*

* Such a provision seems to be called for in India, but there is at present no body which could give a certificate of approval.

† In Bengal (certain Municipalities excepted) there is not even a right to inspect private dispensaries, pharmacies, and druggeries.

prescriptions, noting the name of the person for whom made up, and giving a copy on demand. Poisons can be sold only to persons well known, or if not known, on the production of a certificate from the authority of Public Security, stating their name, surname, art or profession, and that the poison is actually required for the exercise of their art or profession. All particulars of the sale, with the date, must be noted in a special register. Infringement of these rules is punishable with a fine of 250 lira, to which may also be added suspension of the exercise of their profession up to three months.

In communes where no night service is established, the keeper of a pharmacy is bound to lend his services, even at night, whenever required to do so. The keeper of a pharmacy cannot close it without giving 15 days previous intimation to the Prefect.

INSPECTION OF PHARMACIES.

In the course of two years all pharmacies must be inspected in the modes and forms prescribed by the Regulation. The provincial doctors can, in the interests of the public health, make extraordinary inspections of pharmacies, and visit, without any previous warning, the shops of druggists, colourmen, perfumers, liquor-sellers, confectioners, makers and sellers of chemical products. In inspecting pharmacies, the Provincial doctor is assisted by a pharmacist. His inspections are entered in a register, which is signed by him and the pharmacist visitor, and also by the owner, or his delegate.

No one can open or keep any medico-surgical or obstetric institution, or baths, hydropathic or caloric, except with the permission of the Prefect, after consulting the Provincial doctor, and the Provincial Board of Health. From the decision of the Prefect an appeal lies to the Minister of the Interior, who decides after consulting the Superior Board of Health.

HYGIENIC RULES DEALING WITH THE SOIL AND WITH HABITATIONS.

Apart from the rules regarding public waters and watercourses, contained in the Law of Public Works, all works are prohibited which modify the level of subterraneous waters, or the natural flow of superficial waters in places in which such alterations are recognised as injurious by local hygienic regulations. Any infringement of this prohibition is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, in addition to the demolition of the work at the expense of the offender. The local regulations permit alterations of watercourses under certain circumstances, but apart from these special provisions, *all works are conclusively presumed to be injurious to public health, which interfere with the regular flow of sub-terraneous or super-terraneous*

waters, and cause stagnation of water on lands intended for building, or marshes on any other land. The administrative regulation for the application of the law lays it down that insanitary effects *must* result from (a) buildings for habitation, which contain more than one occupant for every ten square metres of covered superficial area, and each room of which has not at least eight square metres of superficial area and 25 cubic metres of space for each person occupying it ; (b) dirty streams of any sort flowing in front of houses abutting on the street, and (c) deposit on the roads or near dwellings of any refuse, articles emitting disagreeable smell or exhalations, or such as to vitiate the atmosphere.

The steeping of flax, hemp, or other textile plants is permitted only at such times, in such places, at such distances from habitations, and with such precautions, as may be prescribed by the Local Regulations of Health, or by special regulations approved by the Prefect, on the proposal of the Provincial doctor, after consultation with the Provincial Board of Health.* Contravention of such regulations is punishable with fine of 50 lira. As regards the precautions, communes have to make rules regarding the places for steeping, the frequent change of water, and the disposal of what has been used, in order to prevent the formation of malarious pits and holes, and the pollution of currents of water used for domestic purposes.

Manufactures and industries which create insalubrious exhalations, or are otherwise dangerous to the health of persons in the vicinity, are entered in a list and divided into two classes, the first class comprising those which must be isolated in the country and far from habitations†; and the second, those which demand special precautions for the safety of persons in the vicinity.‡ This list is compiled by the Superior Board of

* In Eastern Bengal jute is indiscriminately steeped in large rivers small rivers, *khals*, *bheels*, village pits and hollows, roadside cuttings, and even in tanks. The smell is intolerable, and is said to be injurious to health. Native Medical practitioners assert that the pollution of water by jute-steeping causes malaria. Certain it is that large tracts of country have become more and more malarious as the cultivation of jute has extended. In the jute-steeping season, the water of some khals is reddened for miles, the scum generating thousands of insects, and producing an abominable stench. The water-supply is vitiated ; but, as the bulk of the community is interested in jute cultivation, very few complaints are made to the Magistrate.

† Outside Municipal areas the only law on the subject in India is that contained in Chapter XIV of the Penal Code, and Sec. 143 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. There are restrictions in Municipal areas. In Bengal Sec 261 of the Municipal Act empowers Municipal Commissioners to direct that, within limits to be fixed by them, certain offensive or dangerous trades shall not be carried on without a license, which may impose conditions.

‡ As regard these, the Indian Arms and Explosives Acts extends to the whole of India.

Health, after consulting the Minister of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, and approved by the Minister of the Interior, and may be revised from time to time. An industry or manufacture entered in the first class may be permitted in the vicinity of dwellings whenever the person carrying it on can prove that, by the introduction of new methods, or use of special precautions, it cannot injure the health of the vicinity. Municipal juntas may lay down the conditions under which manufactures and industries which are dangerous to health, may be carried on. Persons aggrieved by their orders may appeal to the Prefect, whose orders again are subject to revision by the Minister of the Interior.

Newly built houses, or those partly rebuilt, cannot be occupied except with the permission of the Mayor, which is only given when, from an inspection of the sanitary officer, or of an engineer appointed for that purpose, it is made clear that certain prescribed sanitary conditions have been fulfilled: for instance, that the walls are thoroughly dry, that there is no deficiency of air or light, that there is potable water in the wells, or other receptacle, and that there is no manifest cause of unhealthiness. Any infringement of these rules is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, in addition to the closing of the house. The order of the Mayor is appealable to the Prefect, who decides after consulting the Provincial Board of Health. Sites selected for schools must be approved by the Prefect. Those who let or give sleeping accommodation must not house a larger number of persons than that fixed by the Mayor after inspection. Sleeping rooms must not be less than three metres in height, or have less than 25 cubic metres of capacity for each person, and must be furnished with air and light directly from outside.

On the report of the Communal Sanitary officer, or of the Provincial doctor, the Mayor can close any house or part of the same, as unfit for human habitation from a hygienic and sanitary point of view. The Mayor's order is appealable to the Prefect.

HYGIENIC RULES CONCERNING FOOD AND DRINK.

It is an offence punishable with fine up to 100 lira, and with imprisonment from six days to three months, to sell, or to supply servants, as pay, with food or drink which is bad, tainted, or adulterated, or otherwise unwholesome and noxious to health. Moreover, the food or drink is confiscated. The same penalty is provided for rendering noxious, by bad tinning or otherwise, cooking utensils or vessels for keeping food or drink. The following things are deemed to be specially noxious to health: the flesh of animals suffering from contagious disease, or which show even incipient signs of decomposition; the seeds of cereals, vegetables, &c. which are bad or attacked with parasites, unripe or rotten herbs and fruit, and generally any natural product of

the soil in an abnormal condition ; food and drink adulterated with heterogeneous substances, or artificially coloured so as to imitate or augment the natural colour. Food and drink are considered to be adulterated, even though not noxious to health, when they are partly deprived of their nutritious matter, or mixed with substances of inferior quality, or so prepared as to vary the natural composition, unless the modifications they have undergone are openly declared. Kitchen utensils of all kinds are considered noxious to health, if made with metallic composition containing lead or antimony, or re-covered with varnishes which contain lead or other noxious material. The Minister of the Interior, with the advice of the Superior Board of Health, prepares a list of noxious colours, the use of which is prohibited in the preparation of food and drink, or for colouring cloth, tapestry, toys, paper for wrapping up alimentary substances, and other objects of personal or domestic use.

Every commune must be provided with potable water recognised to be pure and of good quality. The Minister of the Interior can compel any commune or group of communes to provide such water.* Contamination of any source of drinking water is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, apart from the heavier punishment provided in the Penal Code for cases in which there has been damage to individuals.

Every village or town containing a population of over 6,000 inhabitants must have at least one slaughter house, supervised by the communal sanitary authority, with prohibition to slaughter anywhere else. In smaller villages also slaughter is under supervision ; a particular hour is fixed for private slaughter, and, if this is impossible for any reason, any person intending to slaughter must give notice to the sanitary officer, or the communal veterinary doctor. There are elaborate rules for ensuring that diseased meat shall not come into the market.

The grinding or crushing of talc, chalk, or other substances suspected to be used for the adulteration of grain, is forbidden in the same places, or with the same machines, as those used for grinding alimentary substances.

PRECAUTIONS AGAINST THE SPREAD OF DISEASES INFECTIOUS TO MAN AND BEAST.

It is obligatory on all doctors to give immediate information to the Sindaco and communal sanitary officer of any case of dangerous infectious disease, and to help them in the execution of urgent measures to prevent the spread of the disease. Breach of this obligation is punishable with fine up to 500 lira, and in heinous cases with imprisonment, without

* The Bengal Municipal Bill, now before the Bengal Council, contains provisions enabling the Local Government to compel Municipalities to provide good drinking water.

prejudice to any higher punishment that may be awarded under the Penal Code, where injury has actually been caused to any person. Whenever any infectious disease of an epidemic character has manifested itself, every doctor practising in a commune is bound to place his services at the disposal of the commune, their families getting the benefit of the law of the 29th July 1868. This provision is applicable to appoint doctors also.

Informations of dangerous infectious or contagious diseases must be immediately communicated by the Mayor to the Prefect, by the sanitary officer to the Provincial doctor, and by the Prefect to the Minister of the Interior. Where the gravity of the case requires it, the Prefect can, at the instance of the Provincial doctor, appoint local commissions, and delegate experts to examine the character of the disease, and may take all such measures as he considers necessary for the proper care of those attacked, and for the prevention of the spread of the disease.* The Land Acquisition laws contain provisions for the occupation of the land of private persons in urgent cases, when required for hospitals, lazarettos, cemeteries, or any other sanitary object. The Minister of the Interior is empowered to make special rules for the inspection and disinfection of houses, the organisation of medical relief and the prevention of the spread of the epidemic.

In any case of infectious and contagious disease, the sanitary officer may call on the doctor in attendance to make an inspection of the house where the patient is, in order to ascertain whether all precautions have been taken which are necessary to prevent the spread of the disease, and if not, to adopt such precautions.

Every commune is bound to arrange for the sanitary inspection of schools at least twice a month, without previous warning by the sanitary officer or doctors delegated for that purpose. Any pupil suffering from infectious disease must be kept apart until completely cured; and if cases recur, the school must be temporarily closed, so that the place may be thoroughly disinfected. It is obligatory on communes to keep materials and apparatus for disinfection, and to use the same for disinfecting houses or objects of personal or domestic use, when so requested by the owners, or when the sanitary officer considers it necessary. The cost is levied from persons who can afford to pay, but in the case of poor persons, the service is gratuitous. These disinfections are made obligatory

* There is no law in India regarding cholera epidemics. Each District Officer combats it as best he can. Orders compelling pilgrims to go round a town are sometimes passed under Sec. 144 C. P. C. But a special regulation is much called for.

in the cases of illness or death from eruptive cutaneous diseases of an infectious character, or from diphtherial or tubercular affections. Every commune must provide a place, conveniently isolated and fitted up, for the recovery, in urgent cases, of persons suffering from infectious diseases.

Travellers affected with contagious diseases are bound to declare the same to the railway officials, who can segregate them in separate carriages, which must be disinfected before being used again. These provisions are applicable to all public conveyances.*

Vaccination is everywhere obligatory,† and is regulated by rules approved by the Minister of the Interior, after consulting the Superior Board of Health. The vaccine lymph is kept by the Provincial doctor, who gives it gratuitously at any time to the Mayors and any private practitioners who may ask for it. The cost of vaccine lymph is borne by the province; that of vaccination by communes. No one can open an institution for the preparation or sale of vaccine lymph, or for the preparation of, and inoculation with, any *virus* for protection from, or cure of, rabies or other infectious disease, unless he has obtained the consent of the Minister of the Interior. In all cases the institution must be kept by medical men, and subjected to the supervision of the local sanitary authority. Regulations to prevent the spread of venereal disease are framed in the office of the Minister of the Interior. These regulations impose detention or imprisonment in case of infringement.

THE MORTUARY POLICE.

Every commune must have at least one cemetery established in accordance with the regulations of the Mortuary Police; but

* Again, we have nothing in India but the general law as contained in Chapter XIV of the Penal Code. A case in point is reported in the Madras Law Reports: K, knowing that he was suffering from cholera, travelled as a passenger in a train without informing the railway servants of his condition. M, knowing his condition, bought K's ticket, and travelled with him. *Held*, that K was guilty under S. 269 of the Penal Code, and M was guilty of abetment. 1 L. R. 7 Mad. 276. There can be no doubt that Chapter XIV of the Penal Code, along with section 143, 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, are comprehensive, and enable Magistrate to deal with most nuisances that could arise. But the Calcutta High Court has shown itself extremely jealous of the jurisdiction conferred on Magistrates by the general law. If this jurisdiction were conferred by a special Act, it seems probable that some of this jealousy would disappear.

† The state of things is very anomalous in Bengal. Though the Prohibition of Inoculation Act (IV of 1865, B. C.) is in force everywhere, yet its necessary corollary, the Compulsory Vaccination Act (V. of 1880, B.C.), is in force only in Municipalities. Vaccinators constantly report that such and such villagers will not allow their children to be vaccinated. Again, they find difficulty in realising their fees, and ask the Magistrate to help them. The Magistrate has no legal power in the matter.

two or more small communes may have a joint cemetery. From the moment that any land is set apart for a cemetery, it is forbidden to construct any dwelling-house within a radius of 200 metres from it, under penalty of fine, and demolition of the building. It is forbidden to bury a corpse in any other place than a cemetery, under penalty of fine, in addition to the expense of removing the corpse to the cemetery. An exception is made in favour of illustrious personages, who are decreed national honours by Parliament, and of private or national chapels not open to the public, and situate at a distance from habitations equal to that fixed for cemeteries. Corpses can be cremated in crematoria approved by the Provincial doctor. Communes are bound to give the necessary space in cemeteries for the construction of crematoria.

The local health regulations contain special provisions, depending on the topography of the commune and other local conditions, for the enforcement of the law; and they may deal with other causes of insanitation not mentioned in the law. These regulations* are drafted by Communal Councils, and forwarded along with the observations of the Provincial Sanitary Councils and Provincial Doctor to the Minister of the Interior, who passes them with such additions and modifications as he thinks fit. If the communal councils fail to frame such regulations within a fixed time, they are framed by the Minister of the Interior.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.

The costs of sanitary service and supervision are borne by communes, or Provinces or the State.

The following charges are borne by communes :—

- (a) The pay of the communal sanitary officer and other officers employed for sanitary supervision, and the care of the poor in the commune;
- (b) The cost of offices of hygienic supervision;
- (c) The expenditure in connection with vaccination in the commune;
- (a) That for cemeteries;
- (e) That for potable water;
- (f) All other expenditure incurred within the commune for the preservation of the public health.

The following charges are borne by Provinces :—

- (a) The costs of sanitary inspections in cases of epidemic or epizootic disease;
- (b) The cost of keeping vaccine for all the communes in the Province;
- (c) The cost of the offices of the Provincial doctors.

* The equivalent of the English or Indian bye-laws.

The following charges are borne by the State :—

- (a) The pay of Provincial doctors ;
- (b) The fees paid to Provincial Veterinary doctors for services rendered ;
- (c) The payments made to members of the Superior Board for attendance at meetings, to Sanitary Engineers, and members of the Sanitary Councils ;
- (d) The salaries of Veterinary doctors on the frontier and at ports ;
- The fees paid to visitors of pharmacies ;
- The fees paid for sanitary inspections ordered by the administrative authority, except when they are undertaken in order to pass orders on complaints presented by private persons ;
- (g) All other expenses which the administrative authority thinks fit to incur for the safety of the public health of the realm, or for the succour of provinces and communes afflicted with epidemic or epizootic diseases.

The expenses which are at the charge of provinces and communes, are obligatory. The punishments prescribed in the law are imposed by the competent judicial courts. There is a special law, of the 12th June 1866, regarding the cultivation of rice, which has been extended to the whole of Italy. Such cultivation in the vicinity of habitations is regarded as highly insanitary and productive of malaria.*

Members of the Superior Board of Health receive a fee of 20 lira for each meeting, in addition to travelling expenses. The elected members of Provincial Sanitary Boards get a payment of 15 lira for each day of the sitting. Private practitioners are paid for visits, inspections, and skilled examinations and analyses carried out by them at the order of administrative authorities. Government doctors are paid at a lower rate.

MISCELLANEOUS ORDERS AND CIRCULARS.

In addition to the main law itself, there are a number of subsidiary laws, and administrative regulations and circulars, dealing with matters connected with sanitation. For instance there are rules as to how samples of water for analysis are to be taken and sent to the scientific laboratories under the Direction of Public Health.

On the 24th February 1886, the Minister of the Interior issued a remarkable circular to all the Prefects in the kingdom

* Municipalities in India might be given power to prohibit rice cultivation within a certain distance of habitations. The worst of it is that many Municipalities in Bengal are almost purely rural areas.

pointing out that the experience of the two previous years had clearly demonstrated that those communes which possessed good hygienic conditions, had entirely, or almost entirely, escaped serious diseases, and that it was desirable to give all communes the same immunity or comparative immunity. The circular spoke of "our resurrection in communications, education, and general prosperity," and urged that to these should be added "health, which increased a nation's strength and wealth."

The law of the 29th December 1883, had sanctioned loans to communes at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On the 14th July 1887 was passed Law No. 4791, which reduced the interest to 3 per cent. the loan to be repayable within a maximum period of 30 years. The conditions of this law are (1) that the borrowing commune must contain not less than 10,000 inhabitants; (2) that the loan shall not exceed 20,000 lira; and (3) that it shall be taken for one or more of the following objects only:—

- (a) Provision of good drinking water;
- (b) Street drains, removal of filth, and drainage of stagnant water in contiguity to dwellings;
- (c) Straightening and shortening of internal roads in the inhabited part of the commune, especially when such works improve drainage;
- (d) Construction and enlargement of cemeteries;
- (e) Construction of public slaughter-houses;
- (f) Construction of public latrines.

This list might have been laid down for Bengal, so completely does it enumerate the principal requirements of Bengal towns. The loans are given by the Bank of Loans and Deposits, and the State makes up to the Bank the difference between the interest charged to the communes, namely, three per cent., and the general rate in force for sanitary loans, or, if there is no such rate, that in force for ordinary loans.

The law of the 8th July 1888, (No. 5516), authorises the grant of loans to communes for the construction, enlargement and restoration of scholastic buildings. The interest can be reduced to two per cent. when the loan does not exceed 50,000 lira; to $2\frac{1}{2}$, when it does not exceed 100,000 lira; but must not be less than 3 per cent. for larger loans. Such loans are given on the proposal of the Minister of Public Instruction. The administrative regulation for carrying out the above law contains some very elaborate directions regarding the preparation of plans for new school buildings. Some of these directions appear to be excellent, while the minuteness of others is somewhat amusing. An elevated site in the open country is to be preferred, or one adjacent to gardens, squares, or wide roads, not too much frequented; far from markets, barracks,

shops, places of public resort, and spectacles not fit for school-boys.* The site must be at least 200 metres distant from any cemetery, and so placed that the building is as much as possible withdrawn from the influence of cold or damp winds, and particularly winds which blow across marshes, rice crops, or other malarious tracts. The soil must be, if possible, porous and dry, and therefore preferably gravel or sand, with the level of the subsoil drainage well removed from the superficial soil. If a suitable hygienic site is not available, every means must be taken to improve it; and, where the foundations extend as low as the subsoil water, precautions must be taken to prevent the damp from rising, such as the raising of the soil with clayey earth, the use of impermeable materials in the foundations, and the separations of the upper from the lower parts of the walls by a layer of asphalte or some such substance. The area of land must be proportionate in size to the number of boys, such number being taken to be 15 per cent. of the population of the commune, or of that portion of the commune for which the school is intended, some allowance also being made for the growth of the population.

The building itself must be of solid construction, of simple and elegant appearance, such as to elevate the mind, and improve the taste of the pupil. The building must serve for the school only; but in rural communes, where economy is a necessity, the master's or mistress's lodging, as well as rooms for the communal offices, may be included in the building; but the benefit of the loan is not extended to these latter portions.

The buildings for elementary rural schools must contain an entrance room or hall with dressing-rooms and lavatories; distinct class-rooms according to sex and class; a covered and uncovered court-yard; a gymnasium; always, where possible, a field or garden for practical instruction in agriculture; accommodation for the teachers, preferably annexed, but not forming a part of the school; and latrines. There are additional requirements for elementary urban schools, and higher schools called gymnasias, lycea, technical schools, &c. The superficial space allowed for a class must be at least four-fifths of a square metre per pupil in infants' schools, and one square metre in other schools.

Another circular of the Minister of the Interior, dated 22nd August 1887, deals with the preventive measures to be taken on the appearance of cholera. Sanitary officers are bound to inform the Mayor at once whenever they observe any person affected with cholera. It is the duty of the Mayor to report to the Prefect. The communal authorities have to take special

* The schools in most Bengal towns, and notably in Calcutta, do not fulfil these conditions.

measures to prevent the spread of the disease, and such measures are enumerated in the circular. The principal are the isolation of the persons affected, and destruction or thorough disinfection of their vomits or excreta, linen, clothes, bedding, &c. Destruction by fire is advised, but where, in the case of poor persons, this is not practicable, and there exists no apparatus for disinfecting by steam, preference is given to an immersion for ten or fifteen minutes in a solution of corrosive sublimate, or, in the absence of that, immersion for half an hour in water kept boiling. Walls and floors are to be washed in the same solution; the wood of coffins is to be wrapped round with cloth steeped in the same solution, and the grave diggers are to be allowed to wash themselves in it. Whenever the existence of cholera is verified in a circumscribed group of cases, especially if hygienic conditions are bad, an endeavour is to be made to remove all the healthy inhabitants to isolated houses, barracks, or under canvas. Where the local water is bad, communes are enjoined to substitute the use of good spring water, or at least of water drawn in a locality not affected, or of boiled water. They must also try to improve the food-supply, and exercise a sharp surveillance over all food and drink exposed for sale, establish economical co-operative kitchens, and distribute gratis, or at a reduced price, necessary articles of food to those who, from sickness or inability to work, are not in a position to supply themselves with healthy food. Exportation of rags from communes where there is a cholera epidemic, is forbidden. Communal authorities, however, are forbidden to establish sanitary cordons, to prevent persons entering the Commune, or to impose quarantine, inspection, sequestration, or fumigation. These powers are exercised by Prefects and Sub-Prefects.

A circular of the 2nd November 1887 prescribes rules for the construction of cemeteries. Another of the 24th December of the same year directs a monthly sanitary bulletin or report to be submitted by each commune direct to the Ministry of the Interior (Direction of Public Health Department). This is to show all cases of disease of an infectious or epidemic character, and is separate from the returns of all births and deaths, which are submitted to the Statistical Department. The bulletin for any month is to be submitted not later than the 3rd of the following month; but, if any disease of the above nature occurs with exceptional frequency, weekly, and even daily bulletins are to be sent. The circular ends with a hope that the interest taken by Mayors in this matter will be commensurate with the solicitude of the Government for the adequate fulfilment of its most important duty of guarding the public health.

A circular of the 5th October, 1887, recites that complaints are constantly being made to the Government, that the administrative authorities take no action against persons who, without right or authorisation, practise medicine and surgery, or sell drugs and specifics. It lays down that persons who do so without a regular degree or diploma obtained in a university of the kingdom, inflict injury on the rights of the sanitary and pharmaceutical professions, and violate the provisions of the law which are intended to protect the public from the mistakes of ignorant or designing persons. Such persons, if they escape the supervision of the sanitary councils, which extends to those who exercise sanitary professions with legal authority, are liable, nevertheless, to the penalties contained in the law of Public Security and the law of the 5th July 1882 (No. 995); and the agents and officers of Public Security should find out such persons and prosecute them before the judicial authorities. A circular of the 24th December 1888, defines the persons who are entitled to exercise the pharmaceutical profession. But an exception is made in favour of the existing rights of certain persons.

A circular of the 9th January, 1889, issued by Signor Crispi, then Minister of the Interior, exhorts Prefects to do all in their power to compel the observance of the law, and, in particular, of certain specified portions of it. These are the portions which relate to the sale of medicines declared to be secret remedies or specifics, or the sale of remedies which are said to possess a composition or attributes which they do not possess, when such medicines and remedies have not received the approval of the Superior Board of Health; the sale of food or drink noxious to health; the building regulations; the obligation imposed on every commune to provide good drinking water; and the preventive measures against the spread of diseases infectious to man or beast. "I trust," concludes the Minister, "that the Prefects, conscious of their duty and of the noble scope of the mission which the law gives them, will be ready to show the utmost firmness in giving effect to the will of the Legislature, and thereby enabling the Department of Hygiene and Public Health to reach that pitch of perfection which all desire to see." Another circular, issued on the 6th February, 1889, shows the determination of Signor Crispi. The circular relates to the provision of good drinking water, and begins as follows: "The Minister, who has been informed of the deplorable hygienic conditions of many communes in the kingdom, conditions due to the deficiency or bad quality of the water necessary for their domestic use, is firmly resolved that the provisions of the law of the 22nd December 1888, shall be quickly put in force, so that, in a not very distant future, all communes shall be

provided, in proportion to the wants of the inhabitants, with this essential element of health." The Minister, while admitting difficulties arising from want of funds, brushes them aside by the declaration that the law of the 14th July 1887, relating to the grant of loans at a low rate of interest, will be freely applied, and that the Government will render every other possible assistance. He demands that provision for the aforesaid want shall find a place in all Budgets, from which is to be excluded all expenditure not of a strictly obligatory nature. The cost may be disproportionate to the financial condition of some particular commune ; but, in that case, it must enter into a union with some other commune or communes ; while every idea of grandeur or luxury must be excluded from the projects, which must provide merely for such works as are absolutely necessary to secure a constant and abundant supply of good water. In the case of refusal, the Minister will call for and personally examine the Budgets, and make such modifications as he deems necessary.*

Such are the provisions of the Italian law in the matter of Public Health and Sanitation. Travellers in Italy may say that the condition of certain Italian towns would indicate that the completeness and perfection of the law is rather theoretical than practical ; still it is a law teeming with practical rules and advice, from which Indian statesmen and legislators may derive many useful hints and suggestions, especially as in some respects the conditions of life and habitation in Italy present a striking similarity to those prevailing in India.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

* The present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is exhibiting a similar determination in the matter of drainage and water-supply schemes. Such schemes as are absolutely necessary would not be felt as a great burden if loans could be taken from Government at two per cent. interest. But there can be little or no combination until the whole Province has been mapped out into local areas such as Unions under the Local Self-Government Acts, and, even so, an essential condition seems to be an increase of District and Local Board Revenue. Suggestions for such increase were made in an article in the number of this *Review* for October 1892, page 267.

ART. VI.—THE LATE COLONEL
SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN, K.C.S.I.

SO much attention and prominence is given to party struggles, and party warfare in the House of Commons, that imperial interests generally suffer, and are accorded but scant consideration in proportion to their importance. When such is the case, it is no wonder that the British public often know more concerning the least successful members of the legislature, than they do of men whose magnificent achievements are adding fresh jewels to the imperial diadem. While most editors of the English daily press have grudged a single column for an obituary notice on Sir Robert Sandeman, a man who was imbued with much of what is called the old world heroism, they devote numerous columns to recording vapid parochial oratory, or the idle chatter of buckram actors. The growth of this vast ocean Empire, which is unprecedented in the annals of the world's history, continues without interruption; fresh lands are steadily brought under the national sway, but often little attention is given in the public press to the chief actors in the drama. Their achievements are in remote corners of the Empire, and the fierce light of the English press penetrates but dimly into such regions.

Early this year, when all ranks were to be seen with a mournful badge as a token of a Royal loss, there passed away in harness, during a tour in Southern Baluchistan, one whose death, as the Gazette of the Government of India informed the world, was a public misfortune.

Robert Groves Sandeman, son of Major-General R. T. Sandeman, of the Bengal Army, was of a well-known Perthshire family. He was born in 1835, and was educated at the Perth Academy and St. Andrews. Having obtained an Indian cadetship, he in 1856 joined the 14th Bengal Native Infantry, which regiment was then commanded by his father. He was afterwards attached to the 2nd Europeans, and, on the outbreak of the Mutiny, joined the 1st Sikh cavalry, which formed a part of the Oudh column. He saw service near Cawnpore, and at the siege and capture of Lucknow, where he was severely wounded. In fact, he was reported as dead, and another man was gazetted to the adjutancy of the regiment. When convalescent, he went to rejoin, and, on presenting himself, to the astonishment of his brother officers, claimed his former post as adjutant. The question was referred to Army Headquarters, and it was decided that, as the adjutancy had been filled up, Lieutenant Sandeman should be offered, as a *solatium*

an Assistant Commissionership in the Panjab Commission. In those days these appointments were greatly coveted, and one out of every three vacancies in the Punjab was given to a military officer. From 1859 he was in various districts along the frontier, until the Umbeyla Campaign in 1863, when he received the thanks of Government for the clever capture of a rebel chief. He was then promoted to Deputy Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, and remained in charge of that district for eleven years, until he became Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan. His duties, besides the collection of revenue and the administration of justice, brought him into direct connection with the frontier tribesmen, and the borders of his district soon became the quietest along the whole Punjab Frontier.

To the south was the province of Sind, with Sir William Merewether, as Commissioner, at Karachi, and his celebrated henchman, General Jacob, stationed at Jacobabad. Along the border was observed what is called the "close system," and outside our own territory was virtually a *terra incognita*, all relations with the tribesmen being strictly prohibited, and it being as much as an officer's commission was worth to venture across this arbitrary barrier. Baluchistan includes the whole of the country between Afghanistan and the Arabian Sea on the north and south, and Sind and Persia on the east and west. Nominally the whole of this territory was under the Khan of Kalat, the other Brahui chiefs and tribes acknowledging the Khan as their suzerain. This allegiance, however, was more nominal than actual, as there always existed internecine feuds, and the Khan was never able to keep the Chiefs in order without the aid of the British Government. Life across the border was one of constant inter-tribal warfare, bloodshed, pillage and forays. Our relations with the Khan were managed through the Political Superintendent of the Upper Sind Frontier at Jacobabad.

The Marris and Bugtis were two of the wildest and most powerful of the semi-civilized Baluch tribes who occupied the Sulimans conterminous with our border. Let us judge the character of the Marri from his own maxims:—"We are the enemies of all our neighbours: we do no good to anyone: nobody wishes us well. Let us then afford every encouragement to strife around us: let us give passage through our country to any neighbour who seeks to injure another. Whichever side is injured or destroyed, matters not to us: in any case we shall be gainers." The Bugtis are credited with having made one famous raid into Sind from which they returned with 15,000 head of cattle. In 1867, about a thousand Marris and Bugtis made a raid on Harrand, in the Punjab and burned a few vil-

lages. They were driven back with much loss by Captain Sandeman, who applied to the Political Superintendent at Jacobabad to obtain redress from the Khan of Kalat for our injured subjects. The reply received was, that the Khan's sovereignty was merely nominal, and that he was unable to keep the tribes in order, and that the Panjab officials must rely on their own posts to prevent raids. Captain Sandeman then took the matter in hand himself, by opening up direct communications with these tribes. He induced the chiefs to visit him, and talked over the situation with them in durbar. It is the nature of mankind not to do anything for others for nothing, and this is especially the case with an Afghan or Baluch: nothing can be done for nothing, so if we wish a frontier tribesman to do work for us, we must make it worth his while. Hence the young Captain, with characteristic acumen, here first commenced his system of tribal service, which he subsequently carried out with such remarkable results. Money was distributed among the headmen in order to make them more powerful in the tribe, and thus better enable them to control the unruly spirits; and also to enlist them in the cause of order along the frontier, by giving them a direct interest in its maintenance. They were bound to keep a certain number of armed horse and foot for the preservation of peace. When outrage occurred, the tribal allowance was not forfeited, but was used as a lever to compel the headmen to produce the actual offenders, who were then tried by their own jirgas, or courts of law, and punished in accordance with their own customs. Soon was witnessed the curious spectacle of these two tribes raiding into Sind, but carefully respecting their compact with the Panjab authorities.

We have had several treaties with the Khan of Kalat, as representative of the Brahui confedracy and nominal ruler of Baluchistan. The treaties of 1843 and 1854, in return for an annual payment, opened up Southern Baluchistan to trade with Karachi, and arranged for the land line of the Indo-European telegraphs to run along the coast. There was, however, always chronic rebellion in the State, and things came to a crisis when the Khan attempted to establish a mercenary army, resume old revenue-free grants, and make himself absolute ruler. The Marris and Bugties soon went on the war-path against their suzerain. Sir William Merewether, desirous of putting a stop to this anarchy along the border, proposed a military expedition in order to support the Khan against his unruly Sirdars, and to disarm them. The Government of India was adverse to such strong measures, especially as the Punjab Government, prompted by Captain Sandeman, advocated a pacific policy, and contended that the Khan was merely the

representative of the Brahui confederacy, and that no good was likely to result, unless we could settle the disputes between the Khan and the Sirdars by restoring the ancient constitution, and also that the tribes could be trusted and influenced through their feudal system. As Captain Sandeman had already been so successful, he was ordered to proceed into the Sulimans to endeavour to arrange disputes, and to report on the situation.

This was his opportunity, and he took every advantage of it. He knew his own strength, and had perfect confidence both in himself and the justice of his cause. It was a case of history repeating itself. Virgil had told the world: *Possunt, quia posse videntur*. And Kaye, in his description of the Sepoy War had written of the Lawrences:—"The Governor-General had abundant faith in them both; faith in their courage; their constancy; their capacity for command; but, most of all, he trusted them because they coveted responsibility. It is only from an innate sense of strength that this desire proceeds; only in obedience to the unerring voice of nature that strong men press forward to grasp what weak men shrink from possessing." Captain Sandeman took the surest path to success by boldly venturing into the hills, fortified by self-confidence and self-reliance. His life was in his own hands, as he had with him only a small escort of trusty natives. Riding day and night, he pushed up the Bolan Pass to Mustung, through ravines afterwards described by Survey officers as worthy of Dante's "Inferno." On his sudden arrival at the Khan's capital, he posed as mediator between the rival parties. His mission was so successful, that, having effected a reconciliation, he returned with a message to the Viceroy, conveying the Khan's humble apology. Finally the Government relieved the Sind authorities of all dealings with Baluchistan, and transferred them to the control of the Commissioner Derajat.

In 1876 Major Sandeman was again deputed to Kalat, and arranged the agreement of Mustung, which one writer has described as the Magna Charta of Beluchistan. He was then appointed Agent to the Governor General, a post which he held till his death.

Under his sympathetic and benign rule, Beluchistan has been transformed from a region of incessant feud and bloodshed into a peaceful province of Her Majesty's dominions, where revenue is quietly collected, trade is fostered, and the security for life and property is almost as great as in any other part of the Empire. He has performed the part of the beneficent conqueror as described by Virgil:—

"Be these thine arts, to bid contention cease,
Chain up stern war, and give the nations peace;
O'er subject lands extend they gentle sway,
And teach with iron rod the haughty to obey."

The Baluch is a man of splendid physique, hardy and bold, and has many good qualities. He is a soldier, bred in the land where war has been rife since the days of Alexander. *Sævit amor ferri, et scelerata insania belli*; and it is a saying as old as Seneca, that he who has learned to die has learned how to avoid being a slave. Major Sandeman's sympathy for, and quick intuition into the ways and feelings of these tribes, soon inspired their confidence, and they admired his courage. He trusted them, and they, in return, placed full reliance in him. Instead of these semi-civilised people being treated almost as slaves and beneath contempt, they were taken by the hand, and regard was paid to their ancient customs and prejudices. He recognised that no Government is safe unless it be fortified by the good-will of the community at large. He knew the effects of clemency and severity on the Oriental mind; knew which would be most appreciated, and when clemency would have been really more cruel than a wise severity. Although the remainder of India is at present in the swaddling-clothes of local self-government, this institution has flourished vigorously since our occupation of Baluchistan. Petty matters are generally settled by the village council, whereas inter-tribal quarrels and disputes are arranged by the Chiefs and Sirdars at the two large Jirgas held half-yearly, one at Sibi, and the other at Quetta. The splendid raw material is used in the police and levies, and is gradually being induced to enlist in our native regiments. An immense advantage has been gained by employing the tribesmen in the protection of the country, as few things are more destructive to military administration, and the efficiency and morale of troops, than splitting them up into small detachments. In 1883 the duties of over fifteen military detached posts were taken over by the levies.

Once to be wild is not a foul disgrace,
The blame is to pursue the frantic race.

At the present time there is not a more loyal or faithful race in India; and, this remarkable transformation has been caused chiefly by the earnestness, uprightness, and tact displayed by one man. The influence exercised by the Agent to the Governor-General was of incalculable benefit during the Afghan War of 1878. Our troops, instead of having to contest every foot of their way to Kandahar through a hostile territory, found that the tribes were instrumental to their progress. The whole of the resources of the Brahui States, in the way of camel carriage and supplies, were placed at our disposal, and our line of communications was kept open by their aid. The Government acknowledged the good services of Major Sandeman in 1879 by making him a K.C.S.I.

His fame had so spread, that, shortly afterwards, the Bori

Valley was absorbed into British Baluchistan at the request of the people themselves. In the winter of 1889-90, Sir Robert conducted a peaceful expedition into the Zhob Valley, and a Political Agent was left at Apozai to collect revenue and administer the new district.

The last Zhob expedition, in the end of 1890, was principally against the Sherani tribe, and was one of the most signally successful exploits of which the whole history of our frontier policy can boast. The tribes submitted without a shot being fired, or a life lost. No resistance was offered, and the result was the peaceful incorporation of all the country south of the Gumal into the British dominions. It conferred the *Pax Britannica* on people who, up till then, were always at feud with their neighbours, and were thus prevented from cultivating large areas which now maintain them in prosperity. It is true that a large military column accompanied this expedition, and that the military arrangements could not have been better carried out, but they were simply reduced to a *promenade militaire* through the skill of the Political Officer. If this expedition is compared with the two others that were undertaken a few months afterwards, the contrast is remarkable. The Punjab Government still maintained that mischievous anachronism, the "close border" system, with its blockades and punitive expeditions and restrictions on our relations with the tribes; and although the military operations in the Miranzai expedition were most ably conducted, neither this, nor the Black Mountain campaigns can be regarded as a political success. As a fitting recognition to preserve the memory of the successful opening up of the Zhob Valley and the Gumal Pass, the Government officially re-christened Apozai by the name of Fort Sandeman.

Early in the present year Sir Robert left Quetta for a tour in Southern Baluchistan. He contracted influenza and died at Las Beyla on the 29th January.

Such is but the brief outline of a career silently and unostentatiously pursued, and a life devoted to the service of his country. If there is one quality more prominent than the rest, it is his inimitable singleness of heart and soul. His death has removed the most conspicuous figure from the scene of border politics, for he was a colossus with no compeer in his own line. A writer in the *Times* has described him "as the peaceful conqueror of Baluchistan." The territory he added to the State is as large as the German Empire, and when impartial Time, "gives to each the exact proportion due," his name will be ranked in history with such illustrious names as John Lawrence and James Outram.

He was a shrewd judge of character, and knew instinctively whom he could trust. He had just the qualities to arouse

enthusiasm, and no man was ever better served by his subordinates. It was a pleasure to work hard for him, for there was always a kindly word of encouragement, and acknowledgment for good service. The following story is well known. An uncovenanted officer who had done good work, wished to remain in Baluchistan. Sir Robert had started for home on leave, and at Bombay, just before embarking, received a telegram that the man had been transferred to a neighbouring province. He proceeded to Calcutta by the first train, obtained an interview with the Viceroy, and had the orders of transfer cancelled. It may well be conjectured whether any other man, when on the point of starting for home after a long exile, would have given up a part of his hard-earned leave and gone to the personal expense of a journey of nearly 3,000 miles, from Bombay to Calcutta and back, merely for the sake of benefiting a subordinate. He was kind hearted and generous, a staunch friend, and a hospitable and genial host. We know that to merit regard is the surest way of obtaining it, and he obtained his full share from the natives, by his great sympathy and justice. To one who has witnessed the reserve often existing between Politicals and Rajas in other parts of India, it was a wholesome and refreshing spectacle to watch the Chiefs, say at such a gathering as Sibi Fair, come up to "Senaman Sahib," and accost him with a friendly slap on the back and a hearty shake of the hand, preliminary to a conversation, as if they were boon companions. As D. M. S. was inscribed on the sepulchres of famous Romans, so will the natives of Baluchistan, if permitted, make a *Ziarat* of the tomb of their late trusted and respected friend.

IVIE HAMILTON.

KARACHI, 6th April 1892.

ART. VII.—CHINA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD.

AMONG the nations of the world the Chinese, by reason of their ancient history, their curious customs, their great numbers, their mixture of strength and weakness, stand alone. For countless centuries they refused to have anything to do with the other peoples of the earth, treating them as if they were of inferior race, and lived their own life in absolute indifference to what was thought of them. But half a century ago they had a rude awakening. The great trading communities of Europe and America came to the conclusion that the pretensions of the Chinese were incompatible with international rights and human progress, and that it was imperative to teach them that they could claim no selfish privileges, nor maintain an impossible and antiquated position with regard to other countries. Two wars and twenty years of patient but energetic policy were required to teach this lesson, and then China, not willingly, and perhaps with every intention, when she felt strong enough, to repudiate it, accepted her lot as one of the nations of a world to which she had hitherto been a stranger. For the last thirty years, she has, with more or less reluctance, occupied this position, but there is still much uncertainty and difference of opinion as to her exact place among the Great Powers and nations of the world. What that is, is the question I wish to consider, and it is well worth more than passing attention.

Recent events have also conduced to attract attention to China, where the Government is brought face to face with a crisis threatening its existence. After an almost unbroken interval of thirty years, China is again ruled by an Emperor in person; the individuality of the highest personage in the State has once more become a matter of the utmost importance in preserving the internal peace of the Empire and in directing its policy with regard to foreign nations. The admission has to be made, that of that individuality we know extremely little, and it is impossible to predict whether the influence of the Emperor Kwangsu will, in the long run, be exerted in behalf of peace and harmony, or of the old Chinese exclusiveness and its inevitable consequence of international trouble. His reception of the foreign ministers resident at his capital in personal audience, last March twelve month, was an indication of a liberal spirit, and of happy augury for the future; but, by itself, it is not sufficient to justify very confident predictions as to what the attitude of the young Chinese ruler is going to be, if he is destined to guide for many years the fortunes of the middle kingdom. The death of his father, Prince Chun, and of the Marquis Tsang, who occupied

quite an exceptional position among Chinese officials, deprived him of the advice of experienced and sympathetic statesmen whose counsels carried the greatest weight, and there is no one to take their place in the inner councils of the Palace. Among the public men of China whose natural wisdom and knowledge of affairs entitle them to advise and direct the Supreme Government, there remains only the Viceroy Ti, better known as Ti-Hung Chang, and, splendid as have been the services he has rendered his country for thirty years, it would not be true to say that he is much liked or trusted in Imperial circles. In fact, Ti Hung Chang has been, for the last quarter of a century, the *bête noire* of the Manchu dynasty, at the same time that he has proved its sheet anchor whenever foreign difficulties or domestic discussions threatened dynastic or national danger. If Ti Hung Chang were not an old man, he might be tempted to escape from his thankless position and to make a bid for that supreme power to which some of his ultra admirers have endeavoured to incite him. But age has instilled caution into him, and, when the Emperor appeals to him for aid in council and in action, he will, I feel sure, find in Ti Hung Chang a loyal as well as an able champion.

The disturbed condition of the most populous provinces of China, those through which the Yangtsekiang passes—calls attention to Chinese affairs, not less than the position at Peking. At the same moment that the world is informed that China has taken her place among great empires, and that she is entitled to rank as a united and solid nation, evidence is furnished of dissension and weakness that are quite incompatible with the position claimed for her by her friends. It is easy to exaggerate the importance of the Kolas society and of the rioters in Hunan and Kiangsi, but it is impossible to explain away the inability of the Emperor's officers to deal with such contemptible opponents, or the general unpreparedness in which these recent disturbances found the executive, to vindicate the authority, and establish in the minds of foreigners, the good faith of their sovereign.

The explanation that has been offered of the extensive popular discontent increases rather than diminishes its importance. We are asked, with every appearance of authority, to believe that there is a feeling of antipathy to the Peking Government among the Chinese masses, and that secret societies exist, organised for the special purpose of deposing the Manchu dynasty. If such statements as these have even a basis of truth, it is obvious that the inertness of the Imperial Government must entail a serious aggravation of the perils which threaten the internal peace of the country and the very existence of the Tartar régime. Fortunately for the preservation

of friendly and uninterrupted commercial relations between China and foreign countries, there seems reason to believe that the alarms created by events on the great river of Central China are exaggerated, and that the Manchus are in no danger of having to face so formidable an antagonist as they successfully overcame, thirty years ago, in the Taepings. The Taepings, it must be remembered, enjoyed many advantages which no rebels in China would possess at the present time. Not merely were they assisted by the other successful rebellions in progress in Yunan and Turkestan, but the embarrassments of the central executive, from its war with the foreign Powers, prevented its employing all its resources and power in crushing its domestic opponent. No Chinese rebels could now enjoy this inestimable advantage. The hands of the Peking Government are free, and they could employ all their strength, in money and men, in crushing any adversary. Only their own supineness could prevent their gaining a decisive and crushing victory over all internal enemies that have appeared, or are likely to appear.

This view of the present situation is not incompatible with the conviction that the volume of Chinese antipathy to the Manchus, if it were ever focussed and directed by the genius of a great national leader, would prove irresistible. But there are no signs of such a leader, nor is there much opportunity for one presenting himself. Among the men known to us, Ti Hung Chang is the only one who could attempt to play the part which Won Sankwei took two centuries ago, and Won Sankwei was unsuccessful and was defeated. There is the best of reasons for saying that Ti Hung Chang has no intention of making the attempt, and the critics of Chinese affairs from the standpoint of disunion, in their disappointment at finding him content with the duties and position of Viceroy, have discovered another arch-rebel, or, more correctly, a stalking horse for their theories, in Chang Che Tung, the Viceroy of Honkwang, a man of infinitely inferior calibre to Ti, and who has still his laurels to gain. I believe that everyone acquainted with China and her affairs will agree in deriding the possibility of any of the provincial Viceroys proving a successful opponent to the Emperor, unless it be Ti Hung Chang, and even in his case the best informed will hesitate before fathering the opinion that he could oust the Manchus and found a dynasty of his own.

Much depends on the individuality of the present Emperor of China, and of this we can judge only from the carefully edited notices in the Peking Gazette and the impression formed by the Foreign Ministers when received by him in audience last year. It must be admitted that neither of these sources

of inspiration provides a very complete or trustworthy guide to the character of a youth of twenty years who has been kept as far as possible in rigid seclusion, and in ignorance of the world at large. The notices in the official paper which alone conveys to the bounds of the Empire a knowledge of the person of the Emperor and of the doings of the Court, have represented him as a prince of an enquiring mind, attentive to his studies, and desirous of seeing things with his own eyes. The impression formed by the foreign ministers bore out these statements, and was highly creditable to the intelligent and dignified demeanour of the young occupant of the Dragon Throne. But, at the same time, their evidence on another point was equally clear and less encouraging. By one and all the Emperor Kwangsu is described as a very weak and sickly looking young man, with an enormous head and slender frame, better suited for the study than the seat of authority over a third of the human race. The least serious consequence of Kwangsu's physical infirmities is that his reign may prove short. It is of infinitely greater moment to know that, while he reigns, the fortunes of the Manchus are entrusted to one who is strikingly deficient in the vigour and physique requisite in the champion of an alien dynasty and foreign domination.

Nor are the deficiencies of the Emperor supplied by the attributes of his relations and principal advisers. Since the death of Prince Chun, the father of the Emperor, there has been no one near the throne personally qualified and in a position to give authoritative counsel, and the dearth of such advisers is not merely one of the principal causes of anxiety with regard to the present difficulty with foreigners, but it is also one of the chief elements of danger to the dynasty. During the last few years of his life Prince Chun had become well-known outside his own country, but there is no doubt that his influence had been very great, although no one suspected it, during the whole period of the Regency of the two Emperors.

Now there is no other Manchu prince to take his place, and even if Prince Kung were temporarily restored to the dignities and offices of which he was dispossessed some years ago, his experience and talents would be useful only in arranging a *modus vivendi* with the Foreign Powers, and not for the purpose of propping up the Tartar régime at Peking. Still, the solution of the former problem might go far towards providing the Manchus with a prolonged lease of the Imperial Power, for their chief peril will arise from their inability to carry out their treaty stipulations with other countries. For the exigencies of the situation might compel us all to look on, while some great Viceroy in whom we had reason to feel confidence, as we have in Ti Hung Chang, deposed the

incapable or obstinate Government at Peking and substituted another in its place, with some assurance that it would fulfil its obligations and pursue a rational policy. This is the real danger of a practical kind to which the present Government of China is exposed, and it seems to have no better chance of extricating itself therefrom, than to place its policy and fortunes unreservedly in the hands of Ti Hung Chang, who has always been a loyal servant of the Emperor, and whom only harsh and suspicious usage can convert into a rebel.

If we turn from the Peking Government to the mass of the Chinese people themselves, we find an infinitely more difficult problem presented for our consideration. It is possible to form some opinion about the action of the Government, and to entertain a belief that sufficient pressure might be exercised by the Foreign Powers to control or guide the policy it might pursue. But it is impossible to entertain any similar hope with regard to the Chinese people. The vast masses of that nation are as far beyond the scope of our knowledge as of our influence. We are ignorant of the unseen forces which are swaying them, and which are contributing to the formation of such public opinion as may exist in a country which, although inhabited by one race, presents many varieties of climate and human character. We are justified in saying that the only public opinion in China takes a provincial form, and that the great province of Central China, with populations equal to European kingdoms, is sometimes excited by prejudices and passions of which the Peking executive is ignorant, and with which the rest of the Empire has no responsive feeling. We are, at the present moment, the interested witnesses of such a ferment in the great districts watered by the Yangtsekiang, which I have ventured to call the "spine of China," and we are curious as to both its cause and its development.

I would hazard two opinions on this subject. The first is that the recent anti-foreign ebullition is more largely due to official disappointment, than to popular discontent. The second is that the power of the Kolas secret society has been ridiculously exaggerated, and that, in itself, it has neither the power to upset a Government nor the cohesion to create one. The organisation of the Chinese civil service is one of the marvels of the age. In numbers, in authority—there alone is it absolutely true to say *arma cedunt togæ*—, and in organisation the mandarinat of China is the first civil service of the world, but when we come to consider its efficiency, we have to pass from panegyric to censure. This is not surprising when we find that the official salaries are never paid with any degree of regularity or completeness, that the greater proportion of salaried officials have to obtain their allotted payments out of the provincial revenues

and that to every yamen in the country are attached a large number of unsalaried officials who have to earn their livelihood in some irregular manner and by their wits. Nobody has ever alleged that the mass of the Chinese officials are overpaid. A fortunate viceroy or governor may now and then amass a large sum of money—he will experience greater difficulties in retaining than in acquiring it—, but the majority find it difficult enough to avert starvation. It will, therefore, be easily understood how fiercely the civil service of China, as a body, would resent any measure that reduced the resources available for its benefit, and how natural it would be for the inter-provincial jealousy that has always existed, to manifest itself to the detriment of the central Government at Peking. Such a measure was undoubtedly passed when the Peking Government arranged, by the last Opium Convention with England, that all the duties, including the internal customs known as *lekin*, which had hitherto been collected at the barriers of each province, should be paid at the Treaty Ports. This arrangement brought into the coffers of the central Government more than a million sterling per annum; but it deprived the provincial treasuries, and consequently the provincial officials, of that sum, if not of a greater sum, when the exactions at the old Peking barriers are taken into account. If the Peking Government, when it came into possession of this new cash revenue, had announced its intention of assigning a portion of it to the payment of provincial salaries, it would have disarmed criticism and freed the change from all odium. Its grasping policy has now exposed it to a grave danger, from the dissatisfaction among its ill paid servants

Secondly, with regard to the alleged power of the so called Kolas secret society.—If we were to believe the statements of the China press and even of English Officials in the country, we should have to assume that the great mass of the men in the dual province of Honkwang were already enlisted in its ranks, and that it possessed a definite programme and policy for the overthrow of the Manchus. The facts do not warrant these assumptions. The Kolas sect is not, as might be supposed, the only secret society in China. It is one among many secret societies, and, although its adherents seem to have adopted the red flag of socialism, there had been no general movement in its support before the recent riots. How far its reputation may be increased by the murder of Europeans, the destruction of their buildings and the paralysis of Chinese Imperial authority, we cannot attempt to say; but, if it ever attains the dimensions of the Water Lily or Triad society, it will be due to the blunders of the officials, and not to the natural strength and resources of the association itself. It is

desirable to remember that, from the earliest period of Chinese history, secret societies have formed a common feature in the national life, but there is absolutely not a single instance of a secret society having deposed a dynasty or given a ruler to the Empire. The Taepings, however much they may have been helped by the prior efforts of the Lily and Triad secret societies, did not represent a secret body themselves. They were declared rebels, endeavouring to expel the Manchus, and to place their own chief Tien Wang, the Heavenly Prince, on the throne. In China the officials have always pursued the safe policy of leaving the secret societies alone. They have come to the conclusion that to harass them and prosecute their members would do more harm than good, by intensifying popular discontent, which has been long accustomed to find a vent for its feelings in secret and harmless plotting, while, at the same time, they have known all about their proceedings, and they have made the organisers of the moment pay for their forbearance at a heavy rate. With regard to the secret societies of China, it may be asserted with confidence that their power is insignificant and that the Manchus will never be expelled by their verbal threats.

There is, then, much real danger from any popular manifestation against the present dynasty, although the Chinese are disposed to make the most of their grievances from badness of trade, official extortion, and the inability of the Emperor to remove their worldly troubles. It may be admitted that the Chinese are not extremely devoted to the present dynasty; but they have no practical alternative to the Peking Emperor, many disturbances must take place, a civil war on no small scale must have begun, before the Chinese national feeling would be sufficiently stimulated to put forward a claimant to the Dragon Throne, and even then the balance of probability would be in favour of the present dynasty, which was triumphant thirty years ago over a far more formidable confederacy, in the Taepings, Tungani and Panthays, than could possibly be brought against it now. The great weakness is the force of Chinese opinion, and, at the same time, the main source of the powers of endurance possessed by the Peking Government, is the division of interest and opinion that marks off the provinces from each other. This latent disunion in an Empire which is outwardly the most united in the world, explains much of the dislike at Peking to the introduction of railways, which would tend to remove provincial prejudices. The Manchu dynasty will, like every other human institution, disappear in the course of time; but its fall is not likely to be brought about by the weight of Chinese national opinion until at heart China is very much changed from what she is to-day.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to say a few words on

the attitude or policy to be observed by all the Treaty Powers during the present crisis. I say all the Powers, because, happily, there is no reason to doubt the solidarity of their interests and the unanimity of their intentions. Their interests in China are, in the main, commercial, and commercial alone. The political element is introduced only in the cases of England and Russia, either of whom might desire the military alliance of China in Central Asia, but that is a remote contingency. We may therefore fairly count on concerted joint action being taken with regard to the Tsungli Yamen, and to that united front the Chinese Government must, and will, promptly bow. The details of the demands for the punishment of the guilty, the compensation of the sufferers, and the provision of future security, need not be filled in. I will merely lay down the broad principles on which the policy of all countries towards China should rest.

As the present existing Peking Government admitted foreigners into the country and signed the treaties which regulate our commercial and other intercourse, it has a claim on our consideration which no rebellious faction can possess. Moreover, the present disturbers of Chinese peace loudly proclaim that they are anti-foreign, and their acts show that they would revive, if they ever had the power, the worst traditions of Chinese exclusiveness. Self-interest combines with justice to make us forbearing towards the Peking executive, and desirous of lending it a helping hand, when and where we may. On the other hand, if the existing dynasty is effete and incapable of maintaining its ground; if there is a growing feeling among the Chinese that they should get rid of their present rulers, we have no call to champion the Manchus, or to repress the masses of China. We should not allow ourselves on any account to be drawn into their disputes, and, if they can solve their difficulties only by appealing to arms, we can look on with equanimity so long as our main interests are unaffected. But we are bound to vindicate our hard earned and keenly contested rights against attack, whether the assailants be the officers of the Peking Emperor, or the populace along the Yangtse; and we can defend them in the first instance only by our own naval forces, and by driving the responsible Government of China to act with the energy which is necessary to preserve its own authority, as well as to preserve for us the uninterrupted enjoyment of our natural rights by the comity of nations, and also by the conditions of our treaties.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

ART. VIII.—THE NEW REPTILE-HOUSE IN THE
CALCUTTA ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

STUDENTS of Indian Herpetology are to be congratulated on the opening of the new Reptile-House in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens. The magnificent display of Reptilian forms, both indigenous and exotic, contained within the four walls of this house, not only affords one of the most interesting sights to the Indian public, but is also conspicuous by reason of its being the only collection of its kind in the whole of Asia, unrivalled, except, perhaps, by the collection in the London Zoological Gardens, by any other similar collection in any other part of the world. In furthering the cause of Indian herpetological science, its influence will be incalculable, for herein the herpetologist will find a fit place and fine subjects for prosecuting his investigations into this special branch of his study. Scanty as our knowledge is of many members of the Reptilian Fauna of India, owing, no doubt, to their rarity or uniqueness, the Calcutta collection will not only furnish opportunities for studying them in their living state, but also afford ample facilities for observing and recording their habits, as can only be done by an inspection of living specimens. The student of Indian Reptiles and Batrachians has had hitherto to content himself with examining dead and discolored specimens stored in museums, and drawing up his descriptions as best he could from them, badly preserved as they are. In spite of the brilliant discoveries in this particular branch of Indian Zoology made by such eminent herpetologists as Theobald, Blanford, Stoliczka, W. L. Sclater, and others, there is still many a hiatus to be filled up. Look up, for instance, any standard work on Indian reptiles, and you will be surprised to find the paucity of remarks under the heading of habits and instincts. Desiderata such as these are likely to be fulfilled by the study of the beautiful and interesting specimens exhibited in the Reptile-House in the Calcutta Gardens.

That the originators of the scheme for establishing a Zoological Garden in Calcutta had entertained the idea of including a collection of Indian ophidians and other reptiles as an integral part of that institution, will appear on a reference to the original prospectus of the Gardens, issued in 1875. It states that, "after laying out the ground, the committee propose to construct a snake-rockery, and an aquarium on the most approved plan." For want of funds, this proposal remained in abeyance till the year 1887-88, when the Managing Body of the institution sought to give effect to it by erecting a snake-rockery on a small scale

The Garden Report for that year says : " The construction of a snake-rockery formed one of the schemes set forth in the original prospectus issued in the year 1875 ; but as the carrying out of the project on the most approved principle involved considerable outlay, it had to be temporarily abandoned in favor of other works of pressing necessity. In view, however, of the interest which both the European and Indian visitors evince in snakes, the Committee, during the year 1887-88, thought it desirable to build the present pit and rockery at a cost of Rs. 2,000, keeping the ambitious idea of a proper reptileum for future consideration. The pit is an oval structure 45 feet long, 30 feet broad, and 6 feet deep, half being built under and half above the level of the ground. The rockery is in the centre and built of stones and cement, with recesses here and there for the snakes to retire. Only harmless snakes are kept in it. That the rockery has greatly added to the attraction of the Gardens is apparent from the number of visitors who constantly resort to it."

This snake-rockery, which is located near the Dumraon House, contains specimens of innocuous snakes only, such as the Damun (*Zamenis mucosus*) and others.

No steps, however, were taken by the Committee of Management, owing to want of funds, to carry out the project of building a properly-equipped and properly-built Reptile-House in the Gardens till 1891. Early in January of that year, the Honorary Committee of the institution resolved to set on foot a fund for building the long-talked-of Reptileum and issued the following circular for a special subscription to it : " One of the greatest desiderata in the Zoological Garden, Alipore, has always been a suitable building for the accommodation of venomous snakes and other dangerous reptiles. Were such a building in existence, the display of these animals which could be kept up, ought to be unrivalled, owing to the facilities which exist in this country for procuring many most interesting and striking species, and to the fact that local conditions are such as to render it a matter of ease to keep any tropical reptiles alive in confinement. The Committee of Management of the Garden have fully recognised these facts, and have for long been desirous of undertaking the construction of a suitable building. This, however, will necessarily be a matter of very considerable expense, rendering it quite out of question that it should be provided for from any of the ordinary sources of Garden income, or even from the munificence of any single donor ; and the Committee have therefore determined to circulate a subscription list to those native noblemen and gentlemen who, they believe, are likely to appreciate the necessity of removing this defect from the national zoological collection, and to be

willing to aid in doing so by providing the requisite funds." To this appeal the Rajas and other wealthy native gentlemen of Bengal and Behar responded liberally, and subscribed handsome sums, amounting, in all, to Rs. 23,750. But the work of construction was not taken in hand immediately.

Subsequently to this, there happened an incident which served to bring out the defect of the Gardens in not containing a Reptileum, in greater relief, and pointed to the urgent necessity of supplying that desideratum at a every early date. On Tuesday, the 27th January 1891, His Imperial Highness the Czarewitch of Russia, during his sojourn in Calcutta, paid a visit to the Zoological Gardens at Alipore, and, in the course of that visit, expressed a desire to see a cobra; but his wish could not be satisfied, as the rules of the Gardens prohibited, at that time, the exhibition of poisonous snakes. This incident was commented on by the daily press of Calcutta, as forcibly demonstrating a defect in the national zoological collection, and showing the urgent necessity of removing it at an early date. But still, the work of building was not undertaken.

In May 1891, the author of this paper formulated, in an article entitled: "*Reptileum in the Calcutta Zoo*,"* contributed to the *National Magazine* for that month, a plea for the establishment of a properly-built and properly equipped Reptile-House in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens.

In that paper, the author, after referring to the incident in connection with H. I. H. the Czarwitch's visit to the institution, and to the fact that venomous snakes, such as cobras (*Naia tripudians*) and Russell's Vipers (*Vipera russelli*), as well as examples of other commoner snakes met with in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, such as *Dipsas trigonata*, *Lycodon aulicus*, *Ptyas mucosus*, *Passerita mysticizans*, *Chrysopelea ornata*, *Tropidonotus stolatus* and *T. quincunciatus*, used to be formerly exhibited in the verandah of the Surnomoyi House, proceeded to state that they were no longer exhibited in that institution. It was further pointed out that, considering the fact that large numbers of Reptilian forms are annually added to the collection, which are usually exhibited in isolated cages, scattered all over the Gardens, they should be brought together and displayed under one roof, and that a house ought to be constructed in the Calcutta Gardens and fitted up with the requisite appliances for the reception and proper exhibition of the various members of the third and fourth great groups of vertebrated animals, known as *Reptilia* and *Batrachia*, just as had been done in the London Zoological Gardens. The author concluded his paper by making the following suggestion: "Instead of building an

* *Vide the National Magazine*, New Series, Vol. V, (1891), pp. 192-95.

Ophidiarium or Snake-House, it would be better if the Committee of Management of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were to devote the funds to the erection of a properly-constructed and properly-equipped Reptileum for the better exhibition, under one roof, of various members of the Reptiles and Batrachians of India. The Managing Committee must bear in mind that India is pre-eminently the land of snakes and other reptiles, and that the Calcutta Zoological Gardens without a Reptileum is something like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out. Under these circumstances, it behoves the Committee of the Calcutta Zoo not only to exhibit a collection of the common venomous snakes of India in the new Reptileum which they are about to build, but also to include therein a collection of the principal Ophidians (Snakes), Lacertilians (Lizards, &c.), Batrachians (Frogs and Toads), Chelonians (Turtles, &c.), and Emydosaurians (Crocodiles &c.) of India. If the Committee act up to these suggestions, they will not only remove one of the glaring defects of the Calcutta Zoological Gardens, but also earn the lasting gratitude of the Indian public."

Very shortly after the publication of the aforesaid paper, the building operations were commenced, and the structure was completed by the end of the official year 1891-92.

This building, which is located in the north-western part of the Gardens, on the site where the Band-stand formerly stood, has been erected from designs prepared by Mr. W. B. Gwyther, of the Public Works Department, and now one of the members of the Managing Committee. It is rectangular in shape, and its exterior, conspicuous as it is from the monotonous red color of the bricks outside, does not present a very attractive aspect to the visitor. But, considered as a whole, this house is the best-arranged in the Calcutta Zoo. Its internal fittings are of the best description possible, and present quite a different aspect from that of the exterior. The floor is throughout paved with marble. In the centre of the building are two rectangular tanks abounding with fresh-water algæ, and reproducing as nearly as practicable the local surroundings of their respective inmates in a state of nature. These tanks are devoted to the exhibition of the Chelonians (Turtles) and the Emydosaurians (Crocodiles and Gavials).

A handsome brass railing runs all round the tanks, so as to prevent unwary visitors from slipping into the water below. The smaller moveable square glass cages, devoted to the smaller Lacertilians (Lizards) and Ophidians (Snakes), are arranged on the platform on the eastern side of the building, just to the right and the left of the eastern entrance. The southern, western and northern sides of the building contain the large

wall-cases, glazed with thick plate-glass, which are set apart for the exhibition of the larger Ophidians, such as the Pythons, the Cobras and other venomous snakes, and to the Water-Lizards. The cages in the four corners of the buildings are provided with artificial rock-work, covered with mosses and ferns, and surrounded with water, so as to afford their occupants opportunities of indulging in their respective habits. The cages devoted to reptiles of arboreal habits are furnished with the branches and trunks of dead trees, while those set apart for forms with terrestrial habits, or frequenting desert or sandy tracts, have their floors covered with earth and sand. The serpents that live, move and have their being in water and those peculiar to the sea, such as the *Hydrophiinæ*, are kept in cages containing small glass tanks.

The Reptiles of India are classified under three Orders, viz. I.—*Emydosauria*; II. *Chelonia*; and III. *Squamata*. The Order *Squamata* is again divided into three Sub-orders, namely I. *Lacertilia* (Lizards, Geckos and Skinks); II. *Rhaptoglossa* (Chameleons); and III. *Ophidia* (Snakes.) But the inmates of the new Reptile-House are not arranged therein according to the above systematic classification, adopted by such eminent herpetologists as Günther and Boulenger, but according to their respective sizes, either in the smaller moveable cages or the larger wall-cases. The various specimens contained in the new Reptileum are described below, as the visitor inspects them by going round the house, and beginning from the left side after entering by the eastern entrance:

The first small glass cage to the left contains specimens of the common Chamæleon of India, *Chamaeleo vulgaris*. This reptile is popularly known in Bengal as the *Bahurupi*, so called on account of a belief that it frequently changes its color. It is 1 foot 3 inches long from the snout to the tail, having its gular-ventral crest white, while the commissure of its mouth is of the same color. The males are conspicuous by their possessing spurs on their tarsi. This reptile is met with all over India and Ceylon.

The second cage also contains specimens of the above.

The third cage contains specimens of the snake called in Bengal Bungraj (*Coluber audax*), of India and Burma.

The fourth cage contains specimens of the *Chrysopelea ornata* of India, Burmah and the Malayan Peninsula. It is commonly known in Bengal as the *Kalnagini*, and is one of the most beautifully colored of snakes. All over the dorsal region five red spots and three of yellow color alternately occur, lending it a most beautiful appearance. Four varieties of this species are known, but that exhibited here exactly tallies with the variety *c* of Boulenger.* He describes it thus:

* Vide Boulenger's *Reptiles and Batrachians of India*, in the Fauna of India series, page 372.

"Greenish yellow, lineolated, each scale with a black median streak, and more or less distinct black cross bands; ventrals yellow, with a small black spot on each side, *but with a series of large coral-red or orange blotches along the back.*" This snake is gentle in disposition and possesses both terrestrial and arboreal habits. It usually attains to the length of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet and feeds exclusively on geckos and other lizards.

The fifth cage contains specimens of the Green Whip-snake (*Dryophis mycterizans*). It is found all over India and Burma, and is generally met with on bushes or among high grass. It is known in Bengal as the *Betachra Sap*, or the whip-snake. It is of a bright green color, the interstitial skin between the scales being black and white on the anterior part of the body, which appears striped when distended; and a yellow line is to be found along each side of the lower surface. One of its synonyms is *Passerita mycterizans*. This Whip-snake is usually five feet long and is gentle in disposition. It is popularly believed in Bengal that it inflicts wounds on passers below by casting itself from the tree on their backs, thereby gashing that part of the body just like a whip-thong. This sore is superstitiously believed not to heal up and ultimately to cause the death of the sufferer.

The sixth and seventh were empty at the time of my visit.

The eighth cage contained snakes which had not then been identified.

The ninth cage contains examples of the common Grass-Snake of India, Ceylon and Burma (*Tropidonotus stolatus*). It is 2 feet 10 inches long and is greenish or brownish olive in color, picked out with black ocellæ, or reticulated cross-bars, intersected by two yellow longitudinal bands, which are best marked towards the posterior part of the body; its præoculars and postoculars being yellowish. The under surface of the body is white, with a black spot on either side of each ventral; and the nape of the neck assumes a red tinge during the breeding season. This species has bred in the house and is accompanied by two young ones. It is called the *Laoodagâ Sâp*, or the *Pumpkin-stalk snake*, owing to its green colour, in which respect it resembles the green stalk of the pumpkin, or gourd plant. The Bengalis superstitiously believe that it bites out the eyes of persons who go to cut pumpkin stalks.

The tenth cage contains specimens of the *Bungarus caeruleus*, a snake which is commonly met with all over the Continent of India. It is popularly known under the name of the "*Krait*" and is one of the most venomous species known, annually causing great loss of human life. The color of its upper surface is dark brown, or a tinge of blue-black, picked out with narrow cross bands of white color, or sometimes, ocellated with white spots. The under surface of its body is uniformly white.

Here commence the southern wall-cases.

The south-eastern corner wall-case contains specimens of the *Varanus flavescens*, a water-lizard of terrestrial habits, having its habitat in Northern India, Burma and the Malayan Peninsula. It is 2 feet 11 inches long from the tip of the nose to the tip of the tail, and the upper surface of its body is olive or yellowish brown with irregular darker markings which are generally confluent into broad cross bars; there is a streak of blackish tinge on the temporal region, the under surface of the body being yellowish in color, picked out with faint brown-colored cross-bands which become distinct on the throat. The Water-Lizard is known in Bengal under the name of "*Go-sâp*" and is considered to belong to the serpent class. Its bite is popularly believed to be deadly.

The first wall-case contains specimens of a large python, apparently, *Python molurus* of India, though not labelled as such.

The second wall-case contains examples of the *Zamenis diademata* var. *atriceps*, a large snake, usually 7 feet 1½ inches in length, and occurring in the North-Western Provinces of India, Rajputana, the Punjab and Sind. The upper surface of the body is pale buff or sandy grey, ocellated with more or less dark-colored spots, of which those on the median region are usually rhomboid in shape; and the under surface is white throughout, sometimes picked out with small blackish ocellæ. But the variety exhibited is *atriceps*, having the upper part of its head entirely or partially black in color and the rest of the body irregularly ocellated with black spots or having black-colored patches. It is of arboreal habits and is usually seen lying coiled round the tree-trunk in its cage, or descending from it.

The third wall-case contains specimens of one of the most dangerous snakes of India, namely, the Snake-eating Cobra (*Naia bungarus*), occurring in the Sunderbuns, Assam, Southern India, Burma, the Andaman Islands and the Malayan Peninsula; it sometimes attains the length of 13 feet and generally feeds on snakes. Its color is yellowish brown, or olive, picked out with more or less distinct cross-bars of dark color. Though it is more dangerous than the cobra, on account of its larger proportions and fiercer habits, yet the destruction of human life caused by it is not so large, as it is less common.

The fourth wall-case also contains specimens of the *Naia bungarus*.

Here commence the western wall-cases.

The south-western corner wall-case contained snakes not identified at the time of my visit.

The first wall-case is empty.

The second wall-case contains five examples of the cobra, though not labelled as such.

The third wall-case contains specimens of the cobra (*Naia tripudians*), which is, perhaps, by far the most venomous snake of India, Ceylon and Burma. It sometimes attains the length of 7 feet 4 inches. Several varieties occur, which are well-known to snake-charmers. It is too well-known to need any description. The cobra is known in Bengal under the name of the "*Gokhurâ-sâp*," and in Behar under that of the "*Gohuman*." In Lower Bengal it is considered sacred and is worshipped on the *Manshâ-Pujâ* day. Sometimes it is regarded as a "*Bâstu-sâp*" and is superstitiously believed to preside over the good fortune of a homestead. There are many other superstitions regarding this snake, current in Lower Bengal. This species sometimes ascends trees and readily takes to water.

The fourth wall-case also contains specimens of the *Naia tripudians*.

The fifth wall-case contains one example of the Russell's viper (*Vipera russelli*), being another of the most deadly snakes of this country, Ceylon and Burma. It is sluggish in its habits; and the upper surface of its body is pale brown in color, with three longitudinal series of black light-edged rings, while the under surface of the body is of a yellowish white color, sometimes ocellated with crescent-shaped black spots. The bite of this snake also causes much loss of human life every year. It is the much dreaded *Keute* of Bengal. The "*Keute-sâp*," or Russell's viper, is popularly believed to be very pugnacious in its habits and to bite persons without provocation. Its anger is proverbial among the Bengalis, and the term "*Keute-sâp*" is often applied, in household parlance, to persons foaming with rage and anger.

Here is the western entrance to the building.

The sixth wall-case contains four examples of the Sand-Boa (*Gonglyophis conicus*)—a snake which is met with all over India, from Sind to Bengal, and as far south as the Anamalli Hills in the Madras Presidency. The upper surface of its body is of a yellowish or brownish grey color, relieved with a series of ocellae, of a dark-brown color and edged with black rings on the dorsal region. Sometimes these spots assume the form of a broad zig-zag band. The under surface is white throughout. It principally feeds on mice, and usually attains the length of 2 feet 2 inches. In the same case are also examples of the *Eryx johnii*. It is a snake of nocturnal habits, feeding on worms and small animals, and is generally exhibited by snake-charmers. It frequents the arid regions of the Punjab, the Sind and Cutch. The upper surface of its body is of a sandy grey, red dish, or pale brown color, relieved with more or less distinct cross-bars of a blackish tinge, the latter being usually distinct on the tail. The under surface of the body is of a brown color,

or, sometimes, ocellated with blackish spots. It is usually 3 feet 6 inches long. The *Eryx johnii* is known in Bengal under the appellation of the "*Domukho-sap*," and is popularly believed to be "two-headed," on account of its having a thick tail.

The seventh wall-case contained snakes which had not been identified. The upper parts of these snakes are of a white color ocellated with black-colored spots.

The eighth wall-case contained one example of a snake, the upper parts of which are of a black color, relieved with blotches of a yellowish white color along the back. This snake had not been identified.

In the same compartment was also exhibited another snake, which, on inspection, turned out to be of a different species, but had not been identified.

The ninth wall case contains examples of the Banded Krait (*Bungarus fasciatus*) of India and the Malayan Peninsula. It is of a bright yellow colour, annulated with bands of a black hue as broad as the interspaces between them, or sometimes broader. There is a black band commencing from the interocular region and broadening onwards towards the head and nape of the neck. The tip of its snout is of a brown colour. It sometimes attains the length of six feet or more, and is usually four feet 5 inches in length. It is popularly known as the "*Râj sâp*" of Bengal. The snakes of the genus *Bungarus* are thoroughly terrestrial in their habits and very venomous. They chiefly feed on small mammals, snakes, and lizards.

The tenth wall case also contains examples of the above species apparently, though not labelled as such.

The eleventh wall case contains two specimens of that peculiar-looking animal known as the Snake-like Lizard (*Ophiosaurus gracilis*) of South-Eastern Europe, South-Western Asia and North Africa. At first sight they appear to the ordinary visitor to be snakes, because of their apodal and serpentiform characters, but on close inspection, they turn out to be lizards. The upper surface of the body is of a brown colour, with a band of dark hue running all along the side, and frequently with irregular transverse series of ocellae, of a blue colour, edged with black rings. The under surface of the body is of a pale brownish or yellowish hue. It is usually 7 inches long.

The north-western corner cage is empty.

Here begin the northern wall-cases.

The first wall-case contains three examples of the Rattlesnake (*Crotalus durissus*), having its habitat in North America. This species is remarkable for the five rattles at the end of the tail, wherewith, it is said, it makes a rattling noise when irritated. It is popularly believed that this snake has the remarkable power of fascinating its victims before preying

on them. In this state the victims are said to hear sweet musical sounds and see beautiful colours. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes has narrated, in his psychological romance entitled *Elsie Venner*, the story of a girl who used to be fascinated by rattle-snakes.

The second wall case contains examples of the Python or Rock-snake (*Python molurus*) of India. It sometimes attains the length of 20 feet, or upwards, but is usually 12 feet long. The upper part of its body is of a greyish brown or yellowish colour, relieved "with a dorsal series of large elongate sub-quadrangular, reddish-brown black-edged spots, and on each side a series of smaller spots; a lance-shaped brown marking on the head and nape; a lateral brown band passing through the eye, and a brown vertical bar below the eye." The under-surface of the body is yellowish, the sides being ocellated with brown-coloured spots. This snake is popularly known in Bengal under the name of "*Mayal sâp*."

The third wall-case contains one specimen of the Royal Python (*Python regius*) of Western Africa. This species differs from the last-mentioned in being shorter in length and less thick in dimensions than the former, and the white-coloured blotches all over its body are smaller in size.

The fourth wall-case also contains two examples of the *Python molurus* of India. These two specimens are of monstrous proportions, and can be seen lying coiled round the dead tree-trunks in their cage. The female *Python*, or rock-snake, incubates her eggs by coiling herself round them. The *Pythons* are thoroughly arboreal in their habits, and frequent trees overhanging sheets of water. They feed on mammals and birds. The *Python molurus* has bred in the Calcutta Garden.

Here end the northern wall-cases.

The north-eastern corner wall-case is empty.

Here begin the series of eastern small moveable cases, which are placed on the platform to the right of the eastern entrance.

The first and second small cases are empty.

The third case is filled with sea-water, and contains a single specimen of the Banded Sea-snake (*Enhydrina valakadien*), frequenting the littorals of India and Burma. It is of a pale sandy colour, relieved with faintish black cross bands on the back, broadest towards the middle, and tapering to a point on the sides. It usually attains the length of 4 feet. It has a thick tail, flattened towards the end, like an oar, and brings forth its young alive.

The fourth case contains two specimens of the Sand-Lizard (*Uromastix hardwickii*), inhabiting the sandy tracts of North-western India and Beluchistan. These lizards are 1 foot in length, and the upper surface of the body is of a sandy

colour, sometimes ocellated with dark-coloured spots, and the lower surface of a whitish tint, there being a large black dot on the anterior face of the thigh. They feed upon herbs and fruits and live in burrows, like rabbit-holes, dug by themselves.

In this case is also a specimen of a tortoise which is unidentified.

The fifth case contains one specimen of the Tree-snake (*Dendrophis pictus*), peculiar to India, Burma, Ceylon and the Malayan Peninsula. The upper parts of this snake are of olive or bronze brown colour, "sometimes with a yellow vertebral band on the front part of the trunk; outer row of scales yellowish, between two more or less marked dark streaks; a black streak on each side of the head passing through the eye; upper lip yellow; the under surfaces of a yellowish or pale greenish colour throughout." It attains to the length of 5 feet 2 inches. Its habits are arboreal, it being commonly met with on trees.

This case also contained another snake which had not been identified.

The sixth case contains three specimens of the Carpet Viper (*Echis carinata*) of North-Western Asia and India. It is 2 feet 2½ inches long, and the upper part of its body is of a pale buff, greyish, reddish, or brownish colour, with three series of whitish ocellæ, edged with dark-brown rings; a zigzag band of a dark-brown colour runs along each side; a cross-shaped marking of a whitish hue, edged with dark on the head; the under surface of a whitish tint, sometimes spotted with brown-coloured spots. It frequents sandy desert tracts, and is very fierce and pugnacious in its habits, and is also very venomous. It makes a curious hissing sound by rubbing the folds of the sides of its body against one another.

The seventh case contains three specimens of the *Calotes versicolor*, a lizard which is met with all over India, Ceylon, China and Afghanistan. It is called "*Girgiti*" in Bengal, and is superstitiously believed to bite out the eyes of human beings.

The Mahomedans bear great antipathy to this lacertilian, which has its origin in the following tradition. When Hassan and Hossain, the martyr saints of the Mahomedans, were flying from their enemies and had concealed themselves at the bottom of a dried-up well, a spider wove its cobweb over them, so as to conceal them from the view of their pursuers. But a "*girgiti*," which had its dwelling in the well, indicated by a motion of its head, to the pursuing enemies of Hassan and Hossein, that the fugitives were lying concealed at the bottom of the well. The fugitives were hence discovered by their enemies and were slain by them. It is for this reason that

whenever Mahomedans chance to come across a "*girgiti*," they kill it, while the spider is held in great esteem by them for the protection which it afforded to their martyr saints.

This lizard is of a light brownish or yellowish colour throughout, sometimes streaked or ocellated, with dark-coloured cross-bands or ocellæ. Sometimes it is of a dark olive-brown colour, with light spots, or longitudinal lines. The belly is sometimes streaked with dark longitudinal lines. During the pairing season, the males become of a red, yellow, and black colour. It is usually 1 foot $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long.

The eighth case contains two specimens of that curious snake—the Rhinoceros Viper (*Vipera rhinoceros*), peculiar to the Ophidian fauna of West Africa. It takes its specific name *rhinoceros* from the fact of its having two horn-like processes at the tip of its snout.

The ninth case contains another example of the Russell's Viper (*Vipera russellii*) of India.

Here end the right-side series of eastern small cases, and here is the eastern entrance to the building.

The northern tank in the centre of the building contains a specimen of the Gharial (*Gavialis gangeticus*) of India. It is known in Bengal as the "*Mecho Kumir*," or the "*fishing crocodile*," in allusion to the fact of its living mainly on fish and other aquatic creatures. It attains the length of 20 feet and is remarkable for the elongated and narrow snout, which adapts it admirably for catching fish. It is too well-known to need any description.

The southern tank contains a specimen of the Crocodile, apparently the *Crocodilus porosus* of Bengal. It sometimes attains the length of 33 feet. This tank also contains a tortoise which had not been identified.

This paper may very aptly be concluded with a list of the Reptiles which have been exhibited at Alipore, from the time of its foundation till the 14th of November last, when I went to inspect, for the first time, the collection in the New Reptile House. It may prove of some interest to those who take an interest in the study of Natural History, and to those also who are interested in the improvement and development of our national zoological collection.

List of the Reptiles which have been exhibited in the Calcutta Zoological Gardens from its foundation up to the 14th November 1892.

REPTILIA.

ORDER I.—Emydosauria.

FAMILY I.—Crocodilidae.

GENUS GAVIALIS.

1. *Gavialis gangeticus*, Gmelin.

Hab. The Rivers Indus, Ganges and Brahmaputra and their

tributaries. The rivers Mahanadi of Orissa, and Koladyne of Arracan.

GENUS CROCODILUS.

2. *Crocodilus porosus*, Schneider.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, Southern China to North Australia.
3. *Crocodilus palustris*, Lesson.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, Malayan Peninsula.
4. *Crocodilus trigonops*, Cuvier.
Hab. Bengal.

ORDER II.—Chelonia.

SUBORDER I.—Thecophora.

SUPERFAMILY A.—Trionychoidea.

FAMILY I.—Trionychidae.

GENUS CHITRA.

5. *Chitra indica*, Gray.
Hab. The rivers Ganges and Irrawady.

GENUS EMYDA.

6. *Emyda vittata*, Peters.
Hab. Ceylon, Southern India, the rivers Godāvari and Mahanadi and their tributaries.

SUPERFAMILY B.—Cryptodira.

FAMILY II.—Testudinidae.

GENUS TESTUDO.

7. *Testudo elongata*, Blyth.
Hab. Bengal (Chaibassa), Arracan, Burma, Camboja, Cochin China.
8. *Testudo emys*, Schlegel et Müller.
Hab. Assam, Burma, Siam, Malayan Peninsula, Sumatra.
9. *Testudo actinodes*, Bell.
Hab. Southern India.
10. *Testudo horsefieldii*, Gray.
Hab. Afghanistan.
11. *Testudo radiata*, Shaw.
Hab. Madagascar.

GENUS GEOEMYDA.

12. *Geoemyda grandis*, Gray.
Hab. Pegu, Tenasserim, Siam.

GENUS NICORIA.

13. *Nicoria trijuga*, Schweigg.
Hab. Peninsula of India and Punjab.

GENUS CYCLEMYS.

14. *Cyclemys ovata*, Gray.
Hab. Burma.

GENUS DAMONIA.

15. *Damonia hamiltonii*, Gray.
Bengal, Punjab and Upper Sind.

GENUS HARDELLA.

16. *Hardella thurgi*, Gray.
Hab. The Ganges and Indus systems of rivers in Northern India.

GENUS BATAGUR.

17. *Batagur baska*, Gray.
Hab. Bengal, Burma and the Malayan Peninsula.

GENUS KACHUGA.

18. *Kachuga lineata*, Gray.
Hab. Northern India, the rivers Ganges, Kistna and Godavari, and Burma.

19. *Kachuga tectum*, Gray.
 Hab. The Ganges and Indus systems of rivers in Northern India.
 ORDER III.—Squamata.
 SUBORDER I.—Lacertilia.
 FAMILY I.—Geckonidae.
 GENUS GECKO.
20. *Gecko verticillatus*, Laur.
 Hab. Eastern Bengal to Southern China, and Malacca.
 FAMILY II.—Agamidae.
 GENUS SITANA.
21. *Sitana ponticeriana*, Cuvier.
 Hab. India to Cape Comorin, Punjab to Western Bengal.
 GENUS CALOTES
22. *Calotes versicolor*, Daud.
 Hab. Ceylon, India, and Tenasserim.
 GENUS CHARASIA.
23. *Charasia ornata*, Blyth.
 Hab. Central India, North-Western Provinces; Cutch.
 GENUS UROMASTIX.
24. *Uromastix hardwickii*, Gray.
 Hab. North-Western India and Beluchistan.
 FAMILY III.—Anguidae.
 GENUS OPHIOSAURUS.
25. *Ophiosaurus gracilis*, Gray.
 Hab. Eastern Himalayas, Khasi Hills, and Eastern Bengal.
 FAMILY IV.—Varanidae.
 GENUS VARANUS
26. *Varanus flavescens*, Gray.
 Hab. Northern India, Burma and Malacca.
27. *Varanus nebulosus*, Günther.
 Hab. Bengal, Burma, Siam, and the Malayan Peninsula.
28. *Varanus salvator*, Laur.
 Hab. Bengal, Ceylon, Burma and Malacca.
 SUBORDER II.—Rhiptoglossa.
 FAMILY I.—Chamæleontidae.
 GENUS CHAMÆLEON
29. *Chamaeleon calcaratus*, Merrem.
 Hab. Peninsular India south of the Ganges, and Ceylon.
 SUBORDER III.—Ophidia.
 FAMILY I.—Boidae.
 SUBFAMILY I.—Pythoninae.
 GENUS PYTHON.
30. *Python molurus*, Daud.
 Hab. Peninsular India, Rajputana, Bengal to the Himalayas and Ceylon.
31. *Python regius*, Shaw.
 Hab. Western Africa.
 SUBFAMILY II.—Boinae.
 GENUS GONGLYOPHIS.
32. *Gonglyophis conicus*, Schneider.
 Hab. India, Sind to Bengal, the Annamalli Hills in the Madras Presidency.
 GENUS ERYX.
33. *Eryx johnii*, Russell.
 Hab. Central and Southern India, Punjab, Cutch, and Sind.
 FAMILY II.—Colubridae.
 SERIES A.—Aglypha.

SUBFAMILY I.—Colubrinae.

GENUS LYCODON.

34. *Lycodon aulicus*, Linn.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.

GENUS ZAMENIS.

35. *Zamenis mucosus*, Linn.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.
36. *Zamenis fasciolatus*, Shaw.
Hab. Madras Presidency, Bengal, Province Wellesley in Malacca.
37. *Zamenis diadema*, Schlegel. Var. *atriceps*, Fischer.
Hab. North-Western Provinces, Rajputana, Sind, Punjab and Kashmir.

GENUS COLUBER.

38. *Coluber audax*.
Hab. India.

GENUS DENDROPHIS.

39. *Dendrophis pictus*, Gmel.
Hab. Peninsular India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.

GENUS TROPIDONOTUS.

40. *Tropidonotus stolatus*, Linn.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Sind, Burma, and Malacca.
41. *Tropidonotus piscator*, Schneider.
Hab. Near rivers and pools all over India and Ceylon, Burma, and Malacca.

SERIES B.—Opisthoglypha.

SUBFAMILY II.—Dipsadinae.

GENUS DIPSAS.

42. *Dipsas trigonata*, Schneider.
Hab. India, Western Himalayas and Beluchistan.

GENUS DRYOPHIS.

43. *Dryophis mycterizans*, Daud.
Hab. Southern India, Ceylon, Deccan, Bengal, Khasi Hills and Burma.

GENUS CHRYSOPELEA.

44. *Chrysopelea ornata*, Shaw.
Hab. Ceylon, Bengal, Khasi Hills, Assam, Burma, and Malacca.

SERIES C.—Proteroglypha.

SUBFAMILY III.—Elapinae.

GENUS BUNGARUS.

45. *Bungarus fasciatus*, Schneider.
Hab. Bengal, Southern India, Assam, Burma, and Malayana.
46. *Bungarus cæruleus*, Schneider.
Hab. All over India.

GENUS NAIA.

47. *Naia tripudians*, Merrem.
Hab. All over India, Ceylon, Burma, and Malayana.
48. *Naia bungarus*, Schlegel.
Hab. Southern India, Orissa, Bengal, Assam, Burma, Malayana.

SUBFAMILY IV.—Hydrophiinae.

GENUS ENHYDRINA.

49. *Enhydrina valakadien*, Boie.
Hab. Persian Gulf, Coasts of India and Burma to Malay Archipelago.

FAMILY III.—Viperidae.

SUBFAMILY I.—Viperinae.

GENUS VIPERA.

50. *Vipera russellii*, Shaw.
Hab. India, Ceylon, Burma and Siam.
51. *Vipera rhinoceros*, Schlegel.
Hab. West Africa.

GENUS ECHIS.

52. *Echis carinata*, Schneider.
Hab. North Africa, South Western Asia, and India.

SUBFAMILY II.—Crotalinae.

GENUS CROTALUS.

53. *Crotalus durissus*, Daud.
Hab. North America.

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

ART. IX.—ANGLO-INDIAN WORDS AND PHRASES.*

FROM a philological point of view India is now in a position similar to that of England immediately after the Norman Conquest, and to her own former position at the period of her history when Mahomedan invaders introduced Persian and Arabic into the country. Just as in England, after the Norman conquest, there were two nations living side by side, speaking different languages, and striving to render themselves comprehensible to each other, so now in India we find everywhere Englishmen speaking English, and the natives of the country speaking their vernacular, and, as intermediaries between the two, the educated native and the Englishman who has mastered Hindustani, Marathi, Gujarathi or whatever vernacular is spoken in the part of the country in which he dwells. Norman-French and Anglo-Saxon, after one or two centuries, coalesced into one language, and in like manner the mixture of Persian and Arabic with Indian vernaculars produced Hindustani. We have, at the present time, the first steps of a similar fusion between the English language and the vernaculars of India, a process which, if continued for a century or two, would produce a new composite language, partly of eastern and partly of European origin. At present, however, we are only at the very beginning of such a fusion. English and the vernaculars are still separated from each other by a great gulf. Nevertheless, they cannot be in such close contact without a large amount of mutual action and re-action, which will be found, on consideration, to be regulated by the same laws as ruled the early relations of English with Norman French at the Conquest, and subsequently with the other foreign languages spoken by the nations with which the enterprising spirit of Englishmen has brought them into commercial and political intercourse all over the world.

The philological results of the British Empire in India may be briefly summed up as follows : firstly, that many Indian words have been introduced into the English language, secondly, that many English words have been introduced into the vernaculars of India, and thirdly, that several English words and several Indian words have assumed new senses and new combinations, owing to the social intercourse between Englishmen and natives of India.

Let us first consider the words of Indian origin that have been added to the English language. Some of them are of

* The substance of this article was delivered, as a lecture, at the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute, Bombay.

such old standing that they are thoroughly naturalised. The most rigid purist might use such words as 'punkah,' 'Brahmin,' 'pariah,' 'curry,' 'jungle,' 'rajah' and 'rupee.' They need not be printed in italics in English books, and are given a place even in small English dictionaries. Among these words that have been admitted into full English citizenship, may perhaps be counted 'salam,' one of the most interesting words that India has given to England. The earliest use of this greeting by a European writer quoted in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson Jobson*, is a passage from Correa, a Portuguese writer who visited India in the year 1512. But the European use of the word goes back to a much earlier date than the sixteenth century. Some time ago, in turning over the pages of Symonds' "Greek Poets," I came upon an epitaph written on himself by Meleager, a Greek epigrammatist, who flourished at Gadara, the town so familiar to us as the home of the Gadarene swine, just before the Christian era. It gave me a shock of surprise to find in this epigram the familiar word 'salam' in Greek letters. The epitaph ends by addressing the supposed visitor to his tomb as follows: "If you are a Syrian, Salam; if you are a Phœnician, Naidios; and if a Greek, Chaire." These lines show that 'salam' was the ordinary word of salutation throughout Syria at the beginning of the Christian era. We might, therefore, conjecture that 'salam' was one of the words most frequently in the mouth of Christ and his Apostles. This conjecture is raised almost to a certainty by reference to the Gospels. 'Salam' is an Arabic word, meaning peace; and Christ, in taking farewell of his Apostles, says, "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you." There is little doubt that the very word on that occasion actually used by Christ and translated *eirene*, peace, was 'salam.' The meaning of the text is that Christ did not leave his disciples an ordinary, meaningless, verbal salam, but the priceless thing which 'salam' really means, namely peace. We may, therefore, without hesitation add 'salam' to the small list of words which we know to have been really spoken by Christ.

While such words as salam, punkah and jungle are sufficiently naturalised to be used by the most scrupulous English writer, there are many other Indian words that are struggling for their English citizenship, and are mostly found in conversation, as *loot*, *tappal*, *dubber*, *pucka*, *cutcha*, and others too many to mention. In some cases Indian words used by Englishmen change their meaning. Thus 'toddy,' which, in its Indian sense, means the juice of the palm tree, has come to mean in English the combination of spirits and hot water that is so popular a remedy against the cold and mists of Scotland. A bazar

in English generally means a fancy fair, and not a market-place. The term 'lascar,' applied to Indian sailors, is derived from *lashkar*, an army. *Sidi*, a Hindustani word connected with the Arabic *saiyid*, a lord, was once a title of honour, and retains its old sense when applied to the Prince of Jingeera; but in Anglo-Indian usage, the poorest Africans who work at the docks, or in the engine rooms of steamers, are called Seedeas, or Seedy boys. 'Faujdar,' from *fauj*, an army, properly means a general, but we apply the originally proud title to a chief policeman, even though he may be the chief policeman of a small town, with only some three or four men under his command. *Mashal*, a lamp or torch in Hindustani, means in Bombay, the servant who looks after the lamps, undergoing a change of meaning by metonymy similar to that by which, in ordinary English, 'spears,' 'oars,' and 'rifles' can stand for 'spearmen,' 'oarsmen,' and 'riflemen.'

In some cases the Indian word changes its grammatical character when adopted into English. The noun *jawab*, an answer, does duty as an Anglo-Indian verb, when we talk of a suitor being *jawaubed*, that is, refused. *Khaki* is properly an adjective meaning 'of the colour of dust.' As used in English, it is a noun, meaning cloth of that colour. The imperatives of several common Indian verbs are, in Anglo-Indian conversation, treated as the stems of verbs, and have the ordinary English verbal inflections added to them. One such strangely-formed verb has been thoroughly naturalised in English. 'Shampoo' is, by origin, the imperative of the Hindustani verb *champna*, but in English it entirely loses its imperative force, and is conjugated as a verb of the weak conjugation, with 'shampooed' as its past tense and past participle. *Puckerao*, *samjhao*, *maro*, and *banao* are likewise colloquially conjugated as English verbs, especially by English soldiers. *Banao* is not only used as a verbal stem, but also as a noun. When Bellew's Griffin buys a pariah dog, docked and cropped to make him look like a terrier, his more experienced friend asks him "Where on earth did you get this beast? Why, he's a regular terrier bunnow." In ordinary English we can find instances of imperatives thus used as nouns, as when a child says, "It is all make-believe" or a parliamentary reporter talks of a 'count-out.' A similar change of grammatical value, not unlike that undergone by the Hindustani imperatives converted into Anglo-Indian verbal stems, occurred when such verbs as 'complicate' and 'affect' were formed out of Latin passive participles. But I cannot remember any instance, except those just mentioned, of imperatives of foreign verbs being used as new English verbs. How it happened, is clear enough. The words that we have been considering were continually used

in the imperative mood, as words of command, by Englishmen to their servants and others, and became so familiar that the imperative inflection was regarded as an essential part of the verb. If the records of history were destroyed, and these verbs, formed from Indian imperatives, still survived, they would give clear evidence of the ruling position held by the English in India, just as the consideration of the French word 'mutton,' side by side with the Anglo-Saxon word 'sheep,' indicates that long ago the Saxon shepherds herded sheep which did not become familiar to their Norman masters until the animal appeared in a cooked form on the table, as mutton.

Having seen that the Englishman makes new verbs out of the imperatives of Indian verbs, and out of the passive participles of Latin verbs, we may finish what is to be said on the subject of the naturalisation of foreign verbs, by enquiring, how the native of India is inclined to treat the English verbs he uses. As a rule, we shall find that our native servants and other uneducated natives, who have a smattering of English, confine themselves to the use of the present participle to express all moods and tenses. We find this predominance of the present participle correctly illustrated by the remarks of the Moonshee in the *Lays of Ind.* :—

“ He also said, Sáib pray excuse, but what will master do,—
What master giving Moonshee man. if master getting through ?
Two hundred fifty rupee, sircar backsheesh, Saib will get ;
Sáibs always giving Moonshee half, got never less, Sir, yet.
I always coming reglar, teaching good. ”

From a consideration of this tendency, it seems probable that, if an English verb is ever naturalised in an Indian vernacular, it will be in the permanent form of a present participle. It is easy to see how uneducated natives should be inclined to fix upon one particular part of the English verb for constant use. To do so saves the trouble of mastering the inflexions and auxiliaries, by which, in English, moods and tenses are distinguished. The reason why the present participle is chosen in preference to any other part of the English verb, would seem to be the prevalence of the use of tenses formed from the present participle in Hindustani and other Indian vernaculars.

Of the Indian words used by Englishmen, several have gained acceptance from a resemblance to English words of similar meaning. The Englishman in India soon picks up the word *gari*, and fixes it in his memory, as he connects it in his mind with the English word carriage. In the same way *bat cheet* reminds him of chit chat, and *gup* looks like an abbreviation of 'gossip.' 'Beastie' is a Scotch diminutive applied as a term of endearment to animals. Thus Burns

addresses the mouse as a "wee, sleekit, cowrin, timorous beastie." The term is, perhaps, most commonly used by Scotch drovers, when speaking of their cattle. So, when we are told in India that the man who brings us water in puckals on an ox's back is a bheestie, we easily remember the name. We simply extend to the Indian combination of man and beast, the term that is applied to the beast alone by the Scotch Highlander.

In a very large number of cases the Indian word has been Anglicised by alteration in sound, or at any rate in spelling, so as to make it resemble English words and syllables. Such corruptions of unfamiliar foreign words into more familiar and intelligible sounds are common in every language. The French *contre danse*, meaning a dance in which the dancers stand face to face, was corrupted in England into 'country dance,' and *chartreux* and *chateau vert* become, in English, Charterhouse and Shotover. In like manner the English sailor converts the Bellerophon and the Pteroessa into the Billy Ruffian and Tearing Hisser. This tendency can be largely illustrated by Anglo-Indian instances. In some cases the corruption merely secures a familiar sound, without regard to meaning. Take, for instance, the word punch, derived from *panch*, five, because the beverage is composed of five ingredients, namely, spirits, lime juice, sugar, spice, and water. 'Punch,' in more senses than one, is a familiar monosyllable in English; but no ingenuity can naturally connect any of its meanings with the drink which, in its cold form, proved so seductive to Mr. Pickwick. There is a similar disregard of meaning in the corruption of *kabáb*, *tám-tám*, *Nawáb*, *báp-re*, *pandikokku* into 'cabob,' 'tom-tom,' 'nawab,' 'bobbery,' and 'bandicoot.' In these cases the familiar English syllables 'tom,' 'bob' and 'coot' are got into the word by hook or by crook, without any regard to the sense. In most cases, however, there is enough connection between the corruption and its meaning to suggest, more or less distinctly, a false etymology. Sometimes the association of ideas is very slight. 'Jolly boat' appears to be derived from the Indian *gallevat*; but the most etymological sailor would scarcely maintain that such a boat is any jollier than a cutter or a dingy, which two terms, by-the-bye, are also traced by Yule to an Indian origin. When *malli* was corrupted into 'molly,' there was, perhaps, underlying the transformation, the thought that the name given to the English housemaid might, without impropriety, be transferred to the not very manly Indian gardener. In other cases, however, the connection in meaning is too obvious to be denied. Perhaps the most striking Anglo-Indian instance of this tendency to find a false etymology is the verb 'dumb

cow,' one of those Anglo-Indian verbs formed from Indian imperatives. It comes from *dam khao*, the imperative of the Hindustani *dam khana*, to eat one's breath, that is, to be silent. The Anglo-Indian derivative is spelt 'dumbcow,' so as to give both syllables an English meaning, and raise in the mind the idea of cowing a person and rendering him dumb. *Sitaphal*, the fruit of Sita, one of the Indian names of what we usually call the custard apple, is ingeniously corrupted into 'sweet apple' 'Breach Candy,' the name of a favourite drive by the sea in Bombay, is derived by Dr. Murray Mitchell from *Burj-Khádi*, the tower of the creek. If this is the correct derivation, the word has been corrupted into 'Breach Candy' in order to make it intelligible to English ears, for 'breach,' connected with 'break,' in old and provincial English means the surge of the sea or the shore on which the waves break. The Apollo Bunder, at which the P. and O. steamers land their Bombay passengers, seems to have been originally called after a fish which still appears occasionally on Western-Indian breakfast tables, the *palla* bunder, until the English settlers, more familiar with classical mythology than with Indian ichthyology, corrupted *palla* into Apollo. 'Biscobra' from *bis-khapra*, like 'dumbcow,' is so converted as to provide a double false etymology intelligible to an Englishman, and suggest that the mysterious lizard meant has twice the venom of the cobra. The Hindustani *ithar ao* is converted into *hitherao*, in order that it may contain the English adverb 'hither.' The Bengali *gudám*, a store-house, is converted into godown. The derivation suggested by the change, though false, is plausible, as in the East store-houses are generally under ground, so that their owner has to *go down* into them. 'Teapoy' is, by derivation, *tinpai*, a three-footed table, just as 'charpoy' is a four-footed bed. But it is small and convenient for tea; and therefore the first syllable is spelt accordingly. In like manner, from the association of ideas shown above, 'bheesty' is often spelt 'beasty'; 'Solar tope' is from *shola*, meaning pith, which is converted into the English adjective 'solar,' from Latin *sol*, the sun, in order that 'solar tope' may convey to an Englishman's ear, by its sound and spelling, the appropriate meaning of sun helmet. 'Hanger' is generally supposed to be derived from the verb hang, because a sword hangs by one's side. It is really the same word as the Scotch 'whinger,' and is derived from the Arabic and Hindustani *khengar*. Yule quotes an instance of the use of the word as early as 1574, so that it probably came from Arabia at the time of the Crusades, rather than, at a later date, from India. As the word was more common in Scotland than in England, it may have been brought back by the survivors of the 15,000 Highlanders and Islesmen

who, according to William of Malmesbury, went to Palestine in the eleventh century. The abbreviation of *chithi* and *tattoo* into the Anglo-Indian 'chit' and 'tat' may also be, perhaps, regarded as the result of etymological corruption. The associations of the English word 'chit,' generally meaning a small girl, seem to have affected the Anglo-Indian word, so that 'chit' in our colloquial language is used rather of a small note sent by messenger, than of a regular full-sized letter. *Tattoo*, by being abbreviated into 'tat,' suggests to the English mind the old English word 'tit,' meaning a small horse or pony. 'Gymkhana,' about the derivation of which there has been so much discussion and doubt, is almost certainly an instance of etymological corruption. Unless the word is a hybrid, which is unlikely, its first syllable is a corruption of some Indian word. But of what word? Whitworth makes no conjecture on the subject. Yule says that 'gymkhana' is probably a corruption of *gend khana*, ball house, the name generally given to a racket court. Is it not, however, more probable that the origin of the word is *jamatkhana*, a place of assembly, a word familiar enough to be given in Whitworth's Anglo-Indian dictionary? Is not this the word that would most naturally be used by natives to express the central place of the station, where the *Sahib logue* meet to enjoy themselves after the labours of the day? That the idea of meeting is the idea most naturally connected with 'gymkhana' is indicated by Yule himself, who, though he gives a different derivation, describes a gymkhana as "a place of public resort at a station." *Jam*, the beginning of the word, would easily and naturally be corrupted into 'gym' in English conversation, as the gymkhana is a place of active exercise, and so has some resemblance to a gymnasium. There is less uncertainty about the etymology of a strange corruption of Indian words by which the English soldier at Satara found what he thought a suitable name for the game of badminton. When that game was first introduced at Satara, the natives called it *tam-tam-phul-khel* (the tom-tom flower game), because the battledoor with which it was originally played resembled a tom-tom, and the shuttle-cock looked like a flower. The British soldier, hearing this name, and determined to give it an intelligible meaning, transformed it into Tom Fool Game, by which means he both satisfied his etymological instincts, and also contrived to express his very decided opinion of the frivolity of the new game.

We may now leave words of purely Indian origin and proceed to consider those which are partly of English and partly of Indian origin. There are a certain number of words that we use in India, each of which appears, on consideration, to be the result of the blending into one of two words resembling

each other in sound and in meaning, but belonging to different languages. For instance, when we are making a bargain with a native carpenter, or tailor, he will promise to do his work *praper*. Who can decide whether this is a corruption of the Indian *barabar*, to make it sound like the English 'proper,' or vice versâ? The truth seems to be that it is a compromise between the two similar sounds. Take again the term 'boy,' used in addressing native servants. How can it be determined whether this is the English 'boy,' a term which, like the modern French *garçon*, and the Latin *puer*, was commonly applied to grown-up servants in the seventeenth century, or the Indian *boi*, the name of a caste much employed in Madras as palanquin bearers and domestic servants. A similar double origin is required to explain 'bearer,' which is to a large extent the Bengal equivalent of the term 'boy,' as used in Madras and Bombay. *Behārā*, we learn from Whitworth, is, in Bengali, as *boi* is in Telugu, the name of a caste that supplies palkiwalahs and domestic servants. Thus, when in Bengal the Englishman called the men who carried his palkhi, his bearers, although he usually spelt the word as if it were formed from the English verb 'bear,' it is impossible to say that the word was more of English than of Indian origin. Afterwards the meaning of 'bearer' in Bengal changed. From being applied to the palanquin bearers, it was transferred to the single servant of the same caste who took care of his master's clothes, and thus the word has attained its present meaning. Another case of double derivation is 'wordie,' an order which seems to result from the fusion of the Kanarese *varadi*, an order, with the English noun 'word,' often employed in giving an order, as when we say 'send word to so-and-so to come quickly.' It is strange, in Swift's "Polite Conversation," to come upon the sentence: "O! miss, you must give your vardi too!" Very unsatisfactory explanations are given of 'vardi' in this context. Some say it is for *par dieu*; some declare it to be an affected pronunciation of 'verdict.' May it not be that the term is the Indian word *varadi*, and that it was introduced into English polite conversation by some Anglo-Indian, who returned to England in the days of Swift? Such out-of-the-way words often gain a temporary vogue in fashionable conversation, and then disappear to give place to others. 'Cot' and 'buggy' are two other terms which can, with equal ease, be traced to Indian and English origin. But perhaps the most familiar instance of this confusion is the Anglo-Indian 'tank,' which differs slightly in meaning from the English word 'tank,' and slightly in form from the Indian word *tanka*. No doubt the Englishman or the Portuguese—for a word of the same sound and derivation, but of different spelling, is in the Portuguese

language also—, on landing in India and hearing the word *tanka* applied to a reservoir of water, identified it immediately with the similar word in his own language, so that this Anglo-Indian word may perhaps be described as of threefold derivation.

Words and phrases of mixed origin are more easily treated when the parts derived from different languages are kept separate in different syllables. Ordinary English hybrids, such as 'bigamy' and 'tidology,' may be paralleled by several similar Anglo-Indian combinations, as, for instance, brandy-pawnee, agboat, competitionwala, missee baba memsahib, purdah lady, travellers' bungalow. In several of these hybrids we have additional instances of the tendency to corrupt unfamiliar into familiar sounds. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole says that 'John Company' was originally Jahan-Kumpani (Company of the World), the name given by the natives of India to the United East India Company. The *kālij* pheasant of the Himalayas is rather absurdly converted into a college-pheasant, much as Uxford, the river ford (*cf* Uxbridge), was changed into Oxford. Jack, in 'Jack-fruit' is a corruption of the Malay *chakka*, or rather of the Portuguese word derived from the Malay. 'First chop' was originally first *chāp*, or first stamp, *chāp* being the word we are familiar with in *chāpakhāna*, a printing house. According to Yule, 'quite the cheese' is literally quite the thing, 'cheese' being a corruption of the common Hindustani word *chiz*, a thing. He also traces the offending word in a phrase generally supposed to savour of blasphemy to an Indian origin, in *dām*, the name of a copper coin worth a fortieth part of a rupee. Certainly the etymological analogy of the kindred phrases, 'don't care a curse' and 'don't care a rap,' support his view. For a rap was a small Irish coin, and 'curse,' in the phrase, 'I don't care a curse,' is undoubtedly a corruption of the harmless 'kerse,' which in Chaucer meant 'cress.'

The words which we have next to consider are those of English origin that have gained currency in vernacular writing or conversation, or have attained a new meaning in India. In so doing, it will be convenient to treat as of English origin all the words that have come to India from England, whatever may have been their ultimate origin. We must also, of course, regard Scotch as English. Indeed, the language of Burns has much more right to the name of English than is possessed by the literary English to which that name is generally confined; for Lowland Scotch, as is clearly shown by Earle, is the direct descendant of the language spoken in the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria, while literary English is descended from the language spoken by the Saxon kingdoms

of Central and Southern England, and altered by the admixture of Norman French and many other foreign elements.

No one can listen long to a conversation between two natives of India in their own tongue, without hearing a large number of English words employed. In the vernacular press many English words are used to express the legal, political, and social usages of Europe and the discoveries of western science. In some few cases a new application of an old vernacular term, or a new combination of vernacular words, is used to express the new object of thought. Thus we have *bijli ki batti* for electric light, and *vilayeti pani* for soda water *ag gari* for railway train, and *tar*, which literally means wire, is used to express the telegraph, or a telegram. But in the immense majority of cases English words are used in the vernaculars to express things and ideas imported from Europe. Naturally most of the English words thus adopted into the Indian vernaculars are more or less altered in sound, so that they may be pronounced more easily by Indian lips. The English tendency is to throw the accent back as far as possible. This is why we have, in English, 'grám-mar' and 'courage,' corresponding to the French *grammaire* and *courage*, and, from the same inclination, we transform the Indian *tappál* and *hamál* into 'táppal' and 'hámal.' But this tendency to have the accent as near the beginning of a word as possible, is as repugnant to the natives of India as it is to many other foreigners. Hence arises, in English words employed in Indian vernaculars, a displacement of accents just the reverse of that which often happens when an Indian word is uttered by Englishmen. If a Bombay tramcar conductor is asked to give a ticket for the Municipal Office, he will generally reply interrogatively "Municipál?" and you will scarcely get your ticket without conforming to his mispronunciation and placing the accent on the final syllable. In the same way, by misplacement of the accent, 'hospital' is changed into *ispítál*, 'towel' into *touál* and 'captain' into *captán*. Sometimes a consonant is added through laziness. In some parts of England 'gown' is pronounced 'gownd,' and the Anglo-Saxon *thunor* was enlarged into 'thunder' in English, because, after pronouncing 'n,' the organs of speech are in such a convenient position for pronouncing 'd,' that it is less trouble to pronounce than to repress that sound. It is in exactly the same way that governor has come to be spelt and pronounced *govundar* in Indian vernaculars.

Etymologists have invented various terms to express the different ways in which words are modified for convenience of pronunciation. The process by which consonants of a different kind are replaced by consonants of the same kind is called assi-

milation. We have an instance of this kind of corruption in the conversion of 'lemonade' into *limlet*, and of 'flannel' into *falalin*. In both cases the word is changed, so that 'l' instead of another consonant, may follow 'l,' just as in English, or rather in the Latin from which the English word is derived, 'con' and 'lateral' combine, not into 'conlateral,' but into 'collateral.' In other cases the opposite kind of change, called dissimilation, takes place, as when 'champagne' is changed into *simkin*, because Indian lips find a difficulty in pronouncing the two labials 'm' and 'p' in such close proximity. To avoid the same combination of letters in the opposite order, 'midshipman' used to be pronounced *meechilman*. Sometimes, to make the pronunciation easier, a new syllable is added, and thus 'glass,' 'box,' 'tax,' 'constable' are changed into *gilas*, *bokus*, *tekus*, and *canas-table*. The last instance is peculiarly interesting, as, by the operation of two corruptions which cancel each other, the word has got back eventually to a much earlier form. 'Constable' is derived originally from the Latin *comes stabuli*, companion, or count of the stable. In Norman French these two words combined into the one quadrisyllabic word, *conestable*, which in English, by the operation of syncope, was reduced to 'constable.' Finally the native of India, to make the word suit his organs of speech, enlarges it again to *canas-table*, and so produces a word which is almost identical in sound with that used by William the Conqueror and his barons.

Another common instance of this corruption by addition of an extra syllable is the insertion of a vowel before words beginning with st and sc. Such words are always hard to pronounce. There is a town in the South West of Scotland called Stranraer. The children in the neighbourhood find it much easier to make this name begin with an I, and call it Istranraer. On the same principle, when the French formed derivatives from the Latin *stare*, they put a supporting vowel at the beginning of the words; and that is how we find, in English, 'estate' and 'establish' side by side with 'state,' and 'stablish.' These parallels may be a sufficient excuse for the uneducated Indian cook who proposes to make his master an *eestew*, and for the vernacular paper that describes the trials in the *ismal-cas-corut*, but scarcely for an educational institution not fifty miles from Bombay, that I saw some years ago proclaiming itself to the world on a printed board as an Anglo-Vernacular *Eescool*. Yet, after all, *eescool* in India is the result of the same philological process that produced *ecole* in France and *ysgol* in Wales.

In other cases the corruption, instead of adding a new syllable, diminishes the existing number of syllables by contraction, called syncope by philologists. This has already been illustrated above in the history of the word 'constable,' and we

all know that 'damsel' is short for *damosel*. In just the same way, 'pantaloon' and 'man-of-war' are shortened into *pátloon* and *manwár*.

In the last-mentioned case the corruption is probably due to the common tendency to give foreign words a more familiar sound, of which we quoted so many instances in the corruption of Indian words used by Englishmen. *Manwar* is much more like a Hindustani or Marathi noun than 'man-of-war,' of which it is a contraction. A clearer case is the corruption of the originally Mexican word 'tomato' into *tambotu*, which, in Gujarathi, as I am told, means a milk pail.

This kind of corruption is specially common in the case of English proper names. The hill station of Matheran near Bombay supplies us with several instances that were recorded in its local paper, *Matheran Jottings*, last May. Panorama Point, the name of the finest point of view on Matheran Hill, is corrupted into Pandurang Point, and thus the long word of Greek origin is shortened into a very common Hindu name. In like manner the inhabitants of the hill have converted Porcupine Point into Palkhi Point, although that name would be equally appropriate to any other of the Points to which the groaning Palkhiwalas bear their burdens. A house was built at Matheran by, or for, a Mr. Rogers. It was first, no doubt, called Rogersthan, or Roger's place, but is now only known as Rajasthan, the place of the King. This name, however, being a hybrid, ought, strictly speaking, to have been treated at an earlier point of our investigations, when we were considering words of mixed origin. English surnames are specially liable to be strangely altered in this way. 'Kinloch' is corrupted into *tin lakh*, a name agreeably suggestive of wealth. Frere, Moore, Shaw are converted respectively into *fer*, meaning distance, *mor*, a peacock, and *shah*, a king. Jackson is disguised as *Jaykishn*, a Gujarathi compound of *jai*, victory, and *Krishn*, Krishna.

Sometimes, strange to say one English word is corrupted into another. Thus the Hon. Mr. Peile, now Sir James Peile, was always known as Appeal Sahib. The English word 'appeal' was familiar in the law courts, and there was, perhaps, an underlying idea that Mr. Peile was somehow connected, in his official position, with the settlement of appeals. A similar instance is the corruption of the name Ravenscroft, belonging to another Bombay Member of Council. The name was a hard one, but reminded the uneducated Bombay native of the better known name of Crawford, which he had been compelled to master when the Crawford markets were built. This being the case, he determined not to take the trouble of mastering a new and difficult English name. So

he tacked on the qualifying word 'revenue,' familiar as the name of a government department, before the name Crawford, and Mr. Ravenscroft was transformed into Revenue Crawford Sahib, as if he were a newly-discovered species of the genus Crawford.

We have next to consider a large number of English words that have acquired new meanings in India. As their number is large, it is advisable to divide them into two classes for separate consideration. Let us first examine those English words which have changed their meaning by being used by natives of India, and secondly those which are applied to strange uses by the English themselves, although it may be difficult in one or two cases to be sure that we are assigning each particular word to its right class.

The two principal ways in which words change their meaning in the course of time is by generalisation and specialisation. Generalisation is the extension of a name to a larger class of objects, as when 'solecism,' which originally meant bad Greek spoken at the town of Soli in Asia Minor, came to include all cases of the violation of the grammar or idiom of any language; specialisation is the restriction of a name to a smaller class, as when the term 'voyage,' which used to mean a journey by land or sea, was restricted to journeys by sea. Both processes are illustrated by the following story. A friend of mine was travelling on official work in the Berars, and had to get provisions from the headmen of the villages through which they passed. One day his butler came and told him that the village patel was impudent and refused to supply provisions. The patel on being called up said: "I was not impudent; but the butler demanded brandy, and I have none." The butler replied: "I did not ask for brandy, but wine. I must have wine." His astonished master asked him what in the world he meant by demanding wine. "Must have wine," replied the butler; "can't make bread without wine." It turned out that what he wanted was yeast, and then the misunderstanding was at an end. It will be noticed that in the above conversation at cross purposes, the butler had, by the process of generalisation, extended the meaning 'wine,' so as to make it include everything fermented, while the patel, by the opposite process of specialisation, had understood 'wine' to mean one particular alcoholic liquor, namely brandy. The tendency to generalisation is very common among native servants. They make the word 'boot' include boots and shoes; call tarts, trifles and sweet omelets indiscriminately pudding; apply the name 'schoolmaster' to every one connected with education, whether he teaches in a school or a college, or even if he is an inspector of schools or director

of public instruction ; and they make the word 'office' do for their master's place of business, though it be a school, a college, or a law court. Specialisation is less common in the use of English words by Indians, although in the history of the English language it prevails more widely than generalisation. We see instances of it in the way in which Bombay servants narrow the meaning of 'ticket' and 'cover,' and understand by these two words a postage stamp and an envelope. The word 'sick' is used by natives to express every kind of illness, whether involving nausea or not. This, at first sight, looks like generalisation, but it is more probably a case of the preservation of the older and wider meaning of the word that prevailed when Englishmen first came to India.* In like manner it has been often noticed that many Americanisms, for instance, the use of 'rare' in the sense of underdone, and of 'fall' in the sense of autumn, are really survivals of the meanings that English words had in the days of Queen Elizabeth and the Stuart Kings, when the American colonies were founded. Among the old meanings of words retained in America is this very use of the word 'sick' in the wider sense, with which we are so familiar in India.

We come last to English words that are used in unusual senses, or in new combinations, by Englishmen living in India. Some express the amusements by which the Englishman tries to while away the years of his exile, such as tent-pegging, pig-sticking, and sky races. In pig-sticking the verb 'stick' is used in a sense which has become obsolete. We now speak, not of sticking an animal with a spear, but of sticking a spear into an animal. The use of 'stick' in this old sense points to the amusement and its name having originated many years ago, in the earlier days of English settlement in India ; and in fact we find, in the supplement of Hobson Jobson mention of the sport of pig-sticking as early as 1679, though it is not called by that name in the passage quoted. The verb 'jink,' so often applied to the boar in descriptions of boar hunts, is a Scotch word, used by Burns, from which we may infer that some early enthusiast in the introduction of the sport was a Scotchman, and that his influence was so great, that he gave a Scotch tinge to its technical language. One is also tempted to claim a Scotch origin for 'dispense room.' Certainly there is a good old Scotch word, 'spence,' meaning provision room, which may be found in Scott's novels. In the description of Donald Bean's stronghold in Waverley, for instance, we read how "in one large aperture, which the robber facetiously called his spence (or pantry), there hung by the heels the carcasses of a sheep, or ewe, and two cows lately slaugh-

* Is it not still prevalent in Scotland ? — ED. C. R.

tered." But if the Scotch 'spence' had been attempted by native lips, it would almost certainly have been corrupted into 'eespence,' whereas the word in use is not 'eespence' but 'dispense.' Therefore we must rather derive it from the Portuguese word *despensa*, or the French word *despense*, both of which have the same meaning and etymology as the Scotch 'spence.' The spelling would seem to have been altered by English writers from 'des' to 'dis' in order to connect the word with the verb 'dispense,' because in the dispense room the Madamsahib dispenses household necessities to the cook and butler. Of the derivation of 'sky races,' it is difficult to give a plausible conjecture. As they are usually held in the uncertain weather of the monsoon, it has been suggested that they may be races dependent on the sky, that is, on the state of the weather. Perhaps the name may have some connexion with sky larking.

Of the names of Anglo-Indian dishes we may take first the familiar 'country captain,' the origin of which is satisfactorily explained by Yule. 'Country,' in India, is used adjectivally to express Indian, as opposed to European. Thus we have such expressions as a country-bred horse, country leather. Just as the Black Prince was so called because his armour was black, so, by a similar transference of epithet, a country captain is primarily a captain of a country ship, that is of a ship engaged in the Indian coasting trade, and secondarily, it comes to mean a favourite dish frequently provided for the captains of such vessels. The origin of 'spatch cock' is much more puzzling. Yule and Whitworth do not find room for it in their dictionaries. But surely it is an Anglo-Indian term, for, if you were to ask for a spatch cock in a London Hotel, or English village inn, the waiter would probably stare at you in blank amazement. It is commonly explained as a cock or hen suddenly despatched. This is the meaning, but can hardly be the derivation. For 'spatch cock' or 'spitch cock' is an old English word used by writers of the time of Shakespeare to express a way of cooking eels. King, the poetical chaplain of James I, used the word as a verb in the following lines :—

No man lards salt pork with orange peel
Or garnishes his lamb with spitchcockt eel,

and another writer employs the word as a noun, seemingly to express an eel cooked in this way. But in what way? Johnson in his dictionary says that to spitch-cock an eel is to cut him in pieces and roast him. From all this we may fairly conclude that the word had originally nothing to do with either 'despatch' or 'cock.' The first syllable may be derived from 'spit,' as indicated by the old spelling 'spitch cock,' and still more by the spelling of Sir Thomas

Browne, who speaks of a dish of "spits-cocked scorpions," or it may, perhaps, be from the French *dépecer*, cut in pieces, spelt in old French *despecher*. The second syllable is probably the passive participle of the verb cook, which in old English writers has only one 'o,' and may have been pronounced 'cockt.' Thus the derivative meaning in either case would mean split in small pieces and cooked, for, in order that small pieces of meat may be conveniently roasted, they must first be spitted together. The old derivation being forgotten, and a false derivation being invented which gave the word a new meaning, the spitch cock, which had been a spitch cockt eel to our ancestors, changed its character and became an Anglo-Indian spatch cock.

'Chummery' is a useful noun which appears to have been coined in Bombay* to express a bungalow in which two or three persons chum together. Murray only quotes one instance of the word, but not in its concrete Anglo-Indian sense. The author quoted is Besant, the novelist, who speaks of persons living together "in bachelor chummery," but in this quotation the absence of the article shows that 'chummery' is an abstract term, meaning the state of being chums. Another social word that, perhaps, originated in Bombay, is the term 'first lady,' applied to the lady at a dinner party, who is taken in to dinner by the host. This post carries with it the important duty of making the first move to break up the party, and, when the guest chosen as first lady is a young bride new to India and unacquainted with this peculiar social usage, complications arise, and the party may remain unbroken to an unconscionably late hour, everybody waiting for the bride to take her departure first. In Bengal the verb 'cart' has acquired a new social meaning. It means, or used to mean, to drive a young lady out in a cart, or carriage. Such conduct is understood to imply matrimonial intentions, and is considered tantamount to an engagement. This use of 'cart,' will be found in Bellew's "Memoirs of a Griffin." Why a new arrival in India is called a griffin, would be hard to say. A griffin is a strange composite beast, between a lion and an eagle, and, perhaps, the idea is that the new comer is a similarly composite creature, as he has left Europe and not yet been thoroughly initiated into the mysteries of Anglo-Indian life. Some Anglo-Indian colloquialisms are grimly jocular, such as 'peg,' according to one etymology, and 'promotion nuts.' It will probably never be decided whether pegs are so called because they screw you up when you are low, or because each adds a peg to your

* Why Bombay? The word is common, in the same sense, in Calcutta.—ED. C. R.

coffin, or because old fashioned drinking vessels were measured by pegs. Possibly, as has been suggested to me, the word may have an Indian derivation from *pej*, a Marathi word meaning a draught of rice and water, often taken by natives in the early morning. The term 'promotion nuts,' applied to the cashew nuts on account of their indigestibility, is an indication of the official character of Anglo-Indian society, which makes its junior members cynically regard their seniors as so many obstacles in the way of promotion. The appreciation of the advantages enjoyed by the members of the covenanted civil service is expressed by the term 'heaven-born,' applied to them. 'Twice born' is a literal translation of *dvija*, the adjective that distinguishes the three higher Hindu castes, the members of which are born again at the time of their investiture with the sacred cord. Grass-cutter is another literal translation of an Indian term, unless it may be regarded as a corruption of its equivalent *ghāskāṭā*, in which case it should have been mentioned earlier, as being not of English, but Indian, origin. To 'cut pay' is a new combination of words made in India to give a literal rendering of the Indian idiom *puggar katna*, which, if not translated thus into what may be called dog English, would require rather more words to express its meaning. 'Man-eater,' specialised in the sense of man-eating tiger, 'native town,' and 'fire temple' are three more combinations of English words which acquire in India special meanings. 'Home,' as used by the Englishman in India, almost always means England as opposed to the land of his exile, and this usage has become so inveterate, that even natives of this country, when they contemplate a visit to Europe, may be heard telling their friends that they are "going home."

Among the new words which the Englishman adds to his vocabulary in the East, some of the commonest are of Portuguese derivation. The large number of these Portuguese words is a visible proof of the former extent and power of the Portuguese dominion in India. It would, however, be out of place for me to try and trace them to their origin, when we have in India, Portuguese scholars so much better fitted for the task. I have, indeed, felt that it was quite venturesome enough, in one so imperfectly acquainted with the vernaculars of India as I am, to discuss the words of Indian origin which are daily on our lips in this country. However, by availing myself freely of the vernacular knowledge possessed by my pupils at Elphinstone College, and by consulting the literary labours of those who have studied deeply the languages of India, and have given to the world the result of their studies, it has been possible for me to supply the defects of my own very imperfect acquaintance with oriental languages.

It has been my main object to show that the same principles of philology that rule the formation of the great literary languages of the world, are clearly exemplified even in such a humble hybrid dialect as Anglo-Indian. If I have succeeded at all in my endeavour, I must express in the fullest way my obligations to the Anglo-Indian dictionaries of Col. Yule and of Mr. Whitworth of the Bombay Civil Service, without the abundant material supplied in whose works, it would have been impossible for me to put together these few tentative remarks on Anglo-Indian words and phrases.

MICHAEL MACMILLAN.

P.S.—While going to press, the *Hindi Punch* of March 5th supplies me with the following additional examples of the corruption of English words into forms more familiar to Native ears :—‘Who comes there?’ *Hookum durr*. ‘Gratuity’ = *Grass butty*. ‘Captain Gwyn’ = *Govind Saheb*. Louisa Point (Matheran), = *Loocha Point*.

M. M.

ART. X.—THE LAWS OF ITALY.

II.—PUBLIC SECURITY IN ITALY.

THE law relating to the Public Security (*Legge sulla pubblica sicurezza*) in Italy was passed on the 23rd December, 1888. A brief outline of some of its provisions may not be without interest to Indians and Anglo-Indians of all classes. The law consists of four Titles, containing 142 articles or sections :—

Title I.—Provisions relating to public order and the public safety.

„ *II.*—Public amusements, businesses, printing offices, advertisements, itinerant trades, workmen and servants.

„ *III.*—Classes dangerous to society.

„ *IV.*—Miscellaneous provisions.

Under the first Title the law deals with public meetings and assemblies in public places : religious ceremonies outside churches, and ecclesiastical and civil processions : collections of arms and going armed in military disposition ; arms ; the prevention of accidents and disasters ; and unhealthy and dangerous occupations.

Public Meetings.—The promoters of a public meeting (not electoral) must give 24 hours' notice thereof to the local authority of public security, under penalty of a fine of 100 lira. If notice is not given, the meeting may be stopped. If, during any meeting in a place which is public or open to the public, seditious manifestations are made or cries raised, which constitute delicts against the authorities of the State or the heads of foreign governments and their representatives, or if other delicts punishable by the Penal Code are committed, the meetings may be dispersed and the offenders prosecuted. Seditious cries and manifestations which do not fall under the Penal Code, are punishable with three months' confinement (*arresto*). When it is necessary to break up a public meeting, a request is made to that effect. If the request is not complied with, three distinct orders are given to disperse, each preceded by a beat of the drum. If those present do not at once disperse, the meeting is broken up by force, and those who do not obey are arrested. Force, however, may be used at once, if disturbance or opposition render it impossible to give the previous intimation.*

* In India any Magistrate or Officer in charge of a Police station may command any unlawful assembly, or any assembly of five or more persons

Religious Ceremonies outside churches and Ecclesiastical and Civil Processions.—Persons who wish to perform religious ceremonies or acts of worship, or to conduct ecclesiastical or civil processions on the public roads, must give at least three days' notice to the local authority of public security, who can forbid the same on grounds of order and public health : * the rules as to dispersing meetings are also applicable. Notice need not be given in the case of sacramental processions for dying persons, or funeral processions, provided the regulations of public health and local police are observed.

Collections of arms and going armed in military array.—Besides the cases provided for in the Penal Code, it is forbidden to collect arms and munitions of war, or portions thereof, military uniforms or other things intended for the equipment of troops. The penalty, where the act does not constitute a more heinous offence, is confinement for a year and fine from 50 to 1,000 lira. Saving military regulations, it is forbidden to walk in military array with arms.

Arms.—The authority of public security for the district (*circondario*) can grant licenses for keeping arms for purposes of commerce or industry. No one can manufacture arms, or import more than sufficient for his own use, without giving previous notice to the Prefect of the province. No one can carry fire-arms without a license. The Prefect can grant licenses to carry revolvers or pistols of any size, or the sword-stick, provided the length of the blade is not less than 65 centimetres. A tax is payable for licenses. They cannot be

likely to cause a disturbance of the public peace to disperse, Sec. 127, Code of Criminal Procedure. Secs. 128, 129 relate to the use of civil or military force. An 'unlawful assembly' is defined in sec. 141 of the Penal Code. In England the reading of the Riot Act is the equivalent of the beating of the drum in Italy. Signor Tommaso Corsi writes : "It is true that, in spite of the rigour of the laws, cases of riot do occur. The Italian populations, either by their Southern temperament, or as having been but lately freed from despotic and unpopular Governments, are prone to resist public Officers ; but, generally speaking, the punishment is prompt and certain, and has the general approval of enlightened men and friends of order."

* The regulation of processions and assemblies in India is under the control of the Police and the Magistrate, Secs. 30—33, Act V, 1861. Assemblies and processions do not stand on the same footing. There is no right of assembly on a road, such right being inconsistent with the right of the public to pass and repass without obstruction. If an assembly causes obstruction in a public way, the police can take cognizance of the matter under sec. 283, Penal Code, read with sec. 31, Act V of 1861. As to processions, it was decided by a Madras Full Bench—a decision which was concurred in by the executive authorities—that every citizen has the right to use the public highway for processional as well as ordinary purposes, and that the Magistrate has a power to *suspend and regulate*, and the police a power to regulate the exercise of such right. I. L. R. 6 Mad. 218.

granted to certain convicted persons and others. The license is in force for one year; but can be cancelled at any time for bad conduct or abuse of the weapon. If the Minister of the Interior is satisfied that any Province or Commune is in a state of disorder,* he can, by public order, revoke totally or partially all licenses to carry arms. In the absence of reasonable grounds, no one can carry about offensive instruments for cutting or stabbing.

Prevention of Accidents and Disasters.—Without a license from the district authority of public security, and subject to the rules and restrictions in force, no one can keep in his house, or transport any larger quantity of gunpowder or explosive material than five kilogrammes. For dynamite and similar compounds a license is necessary for any quantity whatsoever. No one can establish a gunpowder factory or workshop in which explosive materials are used, without a license from the Prefect. This license imposes on the licensee the obligation to insure the lives of his workmen. Without a license from the local authority of public security, it is forbidden to let off fire-arms, fireworks, to send up fire balloons, and generally to cause explosions, or light dangerous fires in habitations or their vicinity, *or close to the public roads.*

It is forbidden to set fire to stubble in fields and forests, except at the times and in the manner fixed by local regulations. In default of such regulations, the 15th August is the earliest date, and the distance of the fire must be not less than 100 metres from houses, plantations, stacks of straw, hay, or any combustible substance.

It is forbidden, in fields, forests or other open places, to set snares, spring-guns, or other implements of the chase, which are dangerous to human beings. The local authority of public security can, in conjunction with the municipal authority, direct that only one of the entrances to a house should be open at night, and that should be lighted up to a certain hour.

Unhealthy and dangerous Occupations.—Unhealthy and dangerous occupations are subject to local regulations. In default of any, the Municipal Committee passes orders on the complaint of persons interested. The latter can appeal to the Prefect, who passes orders after consulting the Provincial Sanitary Council or the Sanitary Engineer of the Province, according to circumstances. There is a further appeal against the decision of the Prefect to the Minister of the Interior, who decides after consulting the Superior Sanitary Council, or the Board of Sanitary Engineers, according to circumstances.

* The literal translation of the Italian is "abnormal conditions of public security."

The exercise of noisy trades or occupations,* or those which interfere with personal comfort or convenience, must be stopped at the hour fixed by local regulations or municipal orders.

TITLE II.

Provisions relating to public exhibitions, public occupations, agencies, printing-presses, posters, itinerant trades, workmen and servants.

Public Spectacles and Amusements.—Without a license from the local authority of public security, no one can give any public exhibition, or display any rarities, persons, animals, peep shows, or other objects of curiosity. The license is valid only in the commune in which it is given. A similar license is required for concerts, balls and similar amusements in any public place, or place open to the public. The permission of the Prefect is required for the production of operas, dramas, ballets, &c. The Prefect may veto any such production on the grounds of morality or public order.† He must record his reasons in writing, and the person interested may appeal to the Minister of the Interior, whose decision is final. The local authority of public security cannot grant a license for opening a theatre, or other place of public amusement, without being first satisfied, on the result of a technical inspection (the cost of which is borne by the applicant for a license), that the building is solid and secure, and that there are sufficient means of easy and speedy exit in case of fire.

Some officer of public security must be present from beginning to end to watch over the interests of order and public security. He has the right to a box, or some distinct seat, which will enable him to perform his duty with ease. In case of tumult, or grave disorder, or grave danger to the public safety, the officers of public security can suspend or stop the performance; and, when the management has been in fault, can compel the return of

* In India the Magistrate has power, under Sec. 143. C. P. C., to prohibit the repetition or continuance of anything which constitutes a public nuisance. The object of the previous injunction (the word 'person' includes a body of persons, Sec. 11. Penal Code) is to enable the Police to deal with the matter under Sec. 291. P. C. in case of disobedience. *Tomtoming*, especially after nightfall, is often a serious nuisance, and is ordinarily forbidden after 8 P.M. in Municipalities.

† The "Dramatic Performances Act, 1876," is almost a dead letter in the Lower Provinces. The Local Government or such Magistrate as it may empower, may prohibit the performance of any play, pantomime, or other drama, which is (a) of a scandalous or defamatory nature, or (b) likely to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law in British India, or (c) likely to deprave and corrupt persons present at the performance. A conviction under the Act is no bar to a prosecution under Sec. 124. A or 294 of the Penal Code. Sec. 10 of the Act empowers the Government to prohibit dramatic performances except under license.

the entrance money. Regulations for the preservation of order and security, framed by the Prefect, must be hung up in every theatre in a conspicuous place.

It is forbidden to employ children of either sex under fourteen years of age in public spectacles of strength, gymnastics and equitation.

It is forbidden to appear masked in a public place. If any person does so, he is asked to remove the mask, and, in case of refusal, he is liable to arrest and fine.

Public Businesses.—Without a license from the authority of public security for the district, no one can keep a hotel, lodging-house,* inn, public house, café, or other place, in which wine, beer or other liquors are sold by retail or on the premises; nor public rooms for billiards, or other lawful games, nor public baths. Licenses are not granted to persons who cannot validly bind themselves in the terms of the civil code, or commercial code. Licenses can be refused to those who have been in prison for more than three years, and must be refused to those who have suffered the punishment of deprivation of civil rights without having since obtained a certificate of rehabilitation of character (*la riabilitazione*); also to those who are under the special surveillance of the department of public security, or cannot establish their good conduct. In the case of those condemned to a lesser punishment than three years for resistance or violence to authority, for gambling, or delicts against good morals, or against the public health, the license is refused for a period equal to the duration of the punishment suffered. Licenses are personal and expire on the 31st December of each year. They cannot be transferred, but the businesses may be carried on by means of third persons. The hours of opening and closing are fixed by the district authority of public security, in agreement with the municipal committee. In all billiard-rooms and amusement saloons, is hung up a table enumerating the games which are unlawful.

The district authority of public security can suspend any business of the above character, if disturbances occur, or if the place is the habitual resort† of persons of bad character.†

* Broadly speaking, there is no restriction in India on the keeping of lodging houses, except in municipal areas. For instance, Sec. 263 of Act III 1884 B. C. empowers certain municipalities to prohibit the keeping of a lodging house, except under a license, which may impose conditions. The Bengal Municipal Act has given enormous powers to Municipal Commissioners in a number of matters which are properly the subject of police and magisterial regulation and control.

† The native "hotels" in Sudder stations are sometimes the resort of thieves. The authorities of public security in India, that is, the Magistrate and Police, have no power to close them; nor could the Police enter one unless it fell within the description given in Sec. 23 of Act V. 1861.

Temporary licenses may be granted on the occasion of fairs, festivals, markets or other unusual assemblies of persons.

No one can let rooms or give a lodging for hire without making a previous declaration to the local authority of public security. He must not be under any of the disqualifications mentioned above.

Hotel-keepers, inn-keepers, and those who let lodgings must keep a register of all inmates, and notify daily all arrivals and departures in accordance with rules prescribed for that purpose.

Printing and cognate Arts.—No one can exercise the art of printing,* lithography, or similar arts, without a previous declaration to the local authority of public security, stating the place of exercise and the name of the proprietor. It is forbidden to expose to public view pictures or drawings offensive to morals, propriety, public decency and private persons, the penalty being a fine of 50 lira.

Apart from the press laws relating to the publication of periodical papers, no printed or manuscript paper can be affixed† or distributed in a public place, or place open to the public, without a license from the local authority of public security. But this prohibition does not apply to notices of the administration, electoral matters, commercial affairs and notices of sale or hire. Notices can be fixed up only in the places set apart for that purpose by competent authority.

Public Agencies.—Nobody can carry on the business of a pawn-broker without a license from the district authority of public security. The license is personal and lasts for a year, and can be granted only to persons who are not disqualified for carrying on the public businesses of public houses, &c. A previous declaration to the above authority is necessary before one can keep any public agency or office for the transaction of public business. A daily register must be kept of the business transacted, and the table of fees charged must be posted up in a conspicuous place.

Itinerant Trades and certain classes of Hawkers.—No one can hawk about for sale goods, matches, edibles, sweetmeats, drinks, printed books or pictures; or can follow the calling of old clothes dealer, mountebank, quack, singer, musician, or broker, or that of guide, piazza messenger, porter, coachman, boatman or shoeblack, without first having his name inscribed in a register kept by the local authority of public security, and getting a certificate from the same officer, which is

and for one of the purposes mentioned in the section. The defect is commended to the attention of the Indian Legislature in connection with the "Habitual Offenders' Act."

* The law on the subject in India is Act XXV of 1867.

† There is no law on this subject in India.

renewable every year. Certificates can be refused to boys under 18 years of age, if fit for other trades, and also to persons of bad or dangerous character. Foreigners, as well as Italians, not domiciled in the kingdom, cannot exercise these callings without the permission of the district authority of public security ; but the local authority may give permission on occasions of holidays, fairs or other public gatherings.

No one can deal in articles of value, or second-hand articles, without a previous declaration to the local authority of public security. Such dealers must keep a daily register of sales, and they are forbidden to alter or sell any article of value they purchase, except after a lapse of ten days from the purchase.* These provisions do not apply to articles bought in shops.

Workmen and Servants and Masters of Factories.—Workmen and servants can, at their request, be provided with little books by the local authority of public security ; and when their services are dispensed with, or at the end of the year, they can require† from their masters or employers an entry, showing the service done, its duration, and their conduct. Employers of labour, and proprietors of quarries and mines must every month submit to the local authority of public security a list of their workmen, giving their names, age, and commune of birth.

TITLE III.

CLASSES DANGEROUS TO SOCIETY.

Beggars.—In communes, where there is a Refuge for Paupers, it is forbidden to beg on the public roads or in any place open to the public. Where there is no such Refuge, or insufficient accommodation, beggars in such places are punishable under the Penal Code, if they have not satisfied the local authority of public security of their inability to do any work.‡ If they

* There are men in Indian towns and large villages who habitually purchase stolen brass and bell metal utensils. They are effectually dealt with in England by the "Old Metal Dealers' Act, 1861," 24 and 25 Vict. c. 110, s. 4, the provisions of which are very stringent. So there are men who habitually receive and melt down jewellery. In towns pawn-brokers should be licensed, and those who deal in articles of value or second-hand articles might be forbidden to alter, melt down, or sell such articles before a month has expired from the purchase, the rule (as in Italy) not to apply to articles purchased in regular shops.

† It would be useful to require certain classes of large employers in India to give certificates to discharged employees. Men prosecuted for bad livelihood often allege they have been working in some large factory. If the above system were introduced they could prove their plea.

‡ In France also persons found begging in places where public charities exist, are punishable with from three to six months imprisonment, and after release are conducted to the workhouse (*dépôt de mendicite*.) In other places only able-bodied habitual beggars are punishable. All beggars, able-bodied

prove their inability, their want of the means of livelihood, and that they have no relatives bound by law to provide for them, they are placed in a Pauper Refuge, or some equivalent institution in the commune. The Charitable Society of their commune of origin, as well as any religious eleemosynary institutions (the funds of which are not devoted to any special object or to the strictly necessary expenses of carrying on public worship in a Church) are bound to contribute according to their means. In default of these, or where they are insufficient, the commune of origin is liable; but if such commune cannot contribute without imposing new or larger taxes, the State is chargeable. Rules for carrying out these provisions, and for ascertaining whether individuals are entitled to be maintained at the public expense, are made by Royal Decree, which is converted by Parliament into a law. Those who neglect their legal obligation to maintain relatives, are proceeded against under the Civil Code.

The district authority of public security can permit collections of alms for philanthropic, scientific, or beneficent objects, all other sorts of collections, including alms for religion collected outside Churches, are forbidden.

Travellers, released Convicts, and Expulsion of Foreigners from the Kingdom.—Those who, outside their own commune, give by their conduct reasonable grounds for suspicion, or cannot give a credible and satisfactory account of themselves, are taken before the local authority of public security, who can send them back to their own country with an order as to the route by which they are to go (*con foglio di via obbligatoria*), or even, under some circumstances, in custody.

The Minister of the Interior and any subordinate authority to whom he delegates the power can, on grounds of public security, or in exceptional cases of public or private misfortune, give indigent persons the means of getting back to their own country.

The Clerks of the Prætors, the District Courts, and Courts of Appeal are bound, every 15 days, to send extracts from penal judgments which have become final, to the authorities of public security of the districts where the convicted persons are domiciled, or last resided. Similarly the governors of prisons must give information fifteen days before the release of any convict; and the authority of public security sends intimation to the district to which the convict has to go. Those who are sentenced to not less than three years' imprisonment, or to more than six months, for delicts against property,

or otherwise, who use threats, on enter houses or enclosures without permission, or who feign infirmities, or who beg in company with others (husband and wife, parents and their young children, the blind, and their conductors excepted) are punishable with from six months to two years' imprisonment. —Cod. Pén., 274—276.

or for infringement of an order of warning respectively, and those ordered to be under the special surveillance of the public security, must, immediately on their release from prison, present themselves at the local office of public security, where they will be given, if necessary, an obligatory route order. Dangerous convicts, who have been previously convicted, can be taken there in custody.

Foreigners sentenced for any delict can, after release from prison, be expelled from the Kingdom and conducted to the frontier. The Minister of the Interior can, on grounds of public order, direct that foreigners passing through, or residing in, the Kingdom be expelled* and conducted to the frontier. Such persons cannot return without the special permission of the Minister of the Interior; if they do, they are punishable with confinement for six months; and will again be expelled. Prefects of provinces on the frontier can, for urgent reasons of public order, expel from frontier communes foreigners who have been convicted as above, or who cannot give an account of themselves, or are unprovided with the means of livelihood.

Those who are ordered to return to their own district, and given an obligatory route order, cannot depart from it. If they do depart from it, they are taken before the Magistrate of the place where they are found. They may be confined for a month, and are then taken in custody to their destination.

The warning.—The provincial or district head of the department of public security can, with a view to a sentence of warning,† lay a written information before the Criminal Court

* Prussia has expelled Russian subjects of Polish origin, and Russia has expelled a certain number of Prussian subjects, with the object respectively of Germanizing and Russianizing the provinces which were the scene of them. Art XIX of the Californian Constitution gives the Legislature the power of combating, by all possible means, the invasion of the yellow race. A later diplomatic convention allows the Federal Government to limit, regulate, or suspend the arrival or residence, on the territory of the Union, of Chinese workmen, in cases in which their presence can compromise, or simply threaten, the interests of the United States or of public order. Expulsion constitutes in the highest degree a Government act, a measure of high police which belongs to the executive power.

The above are what are called abnormal reasons for expulsion. As to normal reasons, Art. 272 of the French Penal Code prescribes the expulsion of beggars who are known to be foreigners and vagabonds. In Spain the administrative authority can expel foreigners who are idle and beg in the country. Russia has no law on the subjects, but expels in virtue of an immemorial tradition. So in Portugal the right of expulsion is considered as the natural corollary of the right of sovereignty. In Italy the provincial administrative authorities expel, subject to the control of the Minister of the Interior.

† These provisions regarding the sentence, or rather order of "warning," deserve the attention of the Indian Legislature in connection with the "Habitual Offenders' Bill." "Condemned or named by the public voice" is a phrase worthy of incorporation in the Indian law.

against habitual idlers and vagabonds, those who are fit for work and not provided with the means of livelihood, and those who are notoriously suspected of the commission of offences. A man is said to be notoriously suspected, who is condemned by the public voice as habitually guilty of homicide, hurt, intimidation, violence or resistance to public authority, whether he has been actually convicted more than once, or acquitted owing to want of proof, or subjected to inquiries which have resulted in an order for non-prosecution, owing to insufficiency of evidence. He is also regarded as a notorious suspect who is named by the general voice as habitually guilty of incendiarism, unlawful association for the purpose of crime, theft, robbery, extortion and cheating, whether convicted or acquitted as above. The President of the Court at once orders the person charged to appear before him, and show cause why the order of warning should not be passed. If sufficient cause is not shown, the order is passed.

If the order of warning is passed against idlers or vagabonds,* the President directs the person warned to get work within a certain time, to take up a fixed abode, giving notice to the local authority of public security, and not leave it without previous intimation to the same authority. As regards the other persons mentioned above, the order directs them to live honestly, to respect person and property, not to

* In Germany when a sentenced person is placed under the supervision of the police, the latter have the right to prevent his residing in certain specified places, and at any time to make domiciliary visits in his house, and, if he is a foreigner, they may expel him from the Kingdom. German P. C. 39. Under the French and Belgian Penal Codes vagabondage (*le vagabondage*) is a delict. Vagabonds are those who have no fixed domicile or means of subsistence, and who do not habitually exercise any trade or profession. Persons declared vagabonds are, for that fact alone, punishable with three to six months' imprisonment. Such vagabonds may, with the permission of Government, be reclaimed by the Municipal Council of the commune in which they were born, or bailed (*cautionnés*) by a substantial and solvent citizen. Fr. P. C. 269 273. It has been ruled by the Court of Cassation (Cass. 10th January 1852) that the delict of vagabondage does not cease to exist on account of the offer made by a third person to receive the prisoner and give him work. In India Mukhtars or others sometimes offer to take such men as servants, hoping, in some cases, to make a profit out of their bad livelihood. The Criminal Procedure Code of Louisiana defines a vagrant as one "who, having no visible means of subsistence, lives in idleness, or in the practice of drinking or gaming, and who, by the whole of his conduct and character, gives just reason to believe that he gains his subsistence by illegal means." This excellent definition might well be incorporated by the Indian Legislature in sec. 109 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The definition in Art. 973 of the New York Procedure Code includes persons wandering abroad and not giving a good account of themselves; also persons who have contracted infectious or other diseases, in the practice of drunkenness or debauchery, and requiring charitable aid to restore them to health.

give cause for suspicion, and not to leave the place of their abode without previous intimation to the authority of public security. In all cases the person warned is directed not to associate with persons who have been convicted, not to be out at night later than, or to go out in the morning before, a certain fixed hour, not to carry arms, and not to habitually frequent taverns or brothels. An objection against the order can be made, on the ground of incompetence, or non-observance of the law. It is heard by some judge of the Appellate Court appointed by the President.

The warning ceases to have effect two years after the date of the order, unless the person warned is convicted in the meantime for an offence, or for disobedience to the warning, when the two years runs from the expiry of the sentence. The Court can cancel the warning when the reasons for its imposition have ceased to exist, either on the petition of the person warned, after hearing the authority of public security, or at the instance of the latter. Disobedience of the directions contained in the order of warning is punishable with confinement for a year, which may extend to two in cases of recidivism, together with the special surveillance of the authority of public security.*

* Section 12 of the "Habitual Offenders' Bill," now before the Indian Legislature, empowers Local Governments to make rules as to police surveillance. If the rule as to residence be infringed, the offender may be arrested and removed to the district in which he ought to have resided. This is something like the old *Thana Rahdari Perwana*, except that a Magistrate's order is now necessary for removal. The "obligatory route" procedure might be adopted as an alternative to the removal under custody of the Indian Bill.

The Indian Bill ought to deal more directly with the offence of cattle poisoning. It is to be feared that clause (f) of Section 2 will be a dead letter. A Magistrate will require a good deal of tangible evidence—just what is not forthcoming in the worst cases—before he will condemn a person as "a character so desperate and dangerous as to render his being at large without security hazardous to the community." It is certain that the High Court will say: "These are highly penal provisions: *ergo* we must construe them with exceptional strictness." The phrases in the Code of 1872 were better—"dangerous character" and "notoriously bad livelihood." The Magistrate could deal with professional cattle poisoners, incendiaries, coiners and forgers. There should be some special legislation regarding the sale of poisons. In the case of certain castes, the possession of poisons should be presumed to be for the purpose of poisoning cattle. At present the law cannot touch a *Mochee*, even though arsenic be found in his house.

Offences relating to coin and stamps should be added to the provisions of Section 19 of the Bill. The words "and that the inhabitants thereof, or a large class or larger classes of them, are combined to withhold information in their possession which might lead to the detection of the offenders or conspirators," should be omitted, as they are calculated to defeat the objects of the section. Sometimes the villagers do not know who commits the offences. Sometimes they suspect, but are afraid to say. There is in many cases no "combination to withhold."

If the idler, vagabond, or suspected person be under 18 years of age, the warning is given to the father or guardian, who, in case of persistent neglect, can be deprived of his *patria potestas* and *tutela*. In the absence of parents or guardians, the minor can be placed with some respectable family, or in some school of discipline, until he has learnt an art, trade or profession, but he cannot be kept beyond the age of majority. These provisions are also applicable to the minor who habitually practises mendicancy, or prostitution.

Persons sentenced to the special surveillance of the Department of Public Security.—Persons sentenced to the special surveillance of the public security are furnished with a permanent card (*carta di permanenza*) on which are inscribed the directions of competent authority. Such persons can be directed.

1. To get some fixed work ;
2. Not to leave their place of abode without previous intimation to the local official of public security ;
3. Not to be out at night later than, or to go out in the morning before, a certain hour ;
4. Not to carry arms or offensive weapons ;
5. Not to frequent brothels, taverns, &c. ;
6. Not to frequent public meetings or places of amusement ;
7. Not to associate with released convicts ;
8. To be of good conduct and not to give any cause for suspicion ;
9. To appear before the local authority of public security on the days ordered, and also whenever summoned to appear ;
10. Always to carry with him the card of permanence, and to show it whenever required to do so by any officer or agent of the Public Security.

In giving these directions, the antecedents of the person, and his trade or profession, are taken into consideration, so as not to put any difficulty in the way of his gaining an honest livelihood. Disobedience to the above directions is punishable under the Penal Code by the Magistrate of the place where the offence is committed. When there are reasons to suspect the commission of any offence, the authority of public security can proceed to personal inquiries and domiciliary visits. If the suspicions are well-founded, the offender may be taken before the judicial authority. Persons under special surveillance can only alter their residence with the permission of the district authority of public security.

Compulsory domicile.—When dangerous to the public security, those who have twice infringed the directions of warning or special surveillance, or have been twice convicted of offences

against person and property, or for violence or resistance to authority, can be directed to live in a particular place* (*domicilio coatto*). Compulsory domicile lasts from one to five years, and is passed in a colony or other commune of the kingdom. The sentence of compulsory domicile is pronounced by a provincial commission, composed of the Prefect, the President of the Court (or a judge deputed by him), the Procurator of the King, the head of the Provincial office of public security, and the Commandant of the Royal Carbineers. The commission is summoned and presided over by the Prefect. The order is sent to the Minister of the Interior, that he may fix the place of residence. An appeal lies to an appellate commission composed of the Under Secretary of State for the Interior, two members of Parliament, a Councillor of State, a Judge of the Court of Appeal, of a Procurator General, the Director General of Public Security, the Director General of Prisons, and of the Head Director of Judicial and Administrative Police.

The office of public security in the place where the person condemned to compulsory domicile has to live, must assist him to get work; and if, through no fault of his own, he is unable to earn anything, the Minister of the Interior provides for his food and lodging for such period as may be absolutely necessary. If he behaves himself well, the Minister of the Interior may grant him a conditional release.† If he leaves the place assigned to him for residence, he may be confined for from one to six months.

TITLE IV.

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

This Title contains provisions as to what procedure is to be adopted in cases pending when the law comes into force. A penalty of 50 lira, or ten days' confinement, is imposed for any infringement of the law for which no special penalty is provided. The orders of the authority of public security are subject to revision by the superior administrative authorities.

* See Sec. 12, cl. (f.) (i.) of the Indian Bill, to which might be added, on the analogy of the Italian law, "and the places to which he may not go."

† Sec. 11 of the Indian "Habitual Offenders' Bill" empowers the District Magistrate to cancel an order for police surveillance. I think he should be empowered to give a certificate of rehabilitation of character—the Italian *riabilitazione* and the *réhabilitation de la caractère* of the French criminal law—which the reformed character could show to the Zemindar, punchayet, and others. He would thereby find it easier to get employment. If he again lapsed into bad habits, such certificate might be withdrawn. The French order for rehabilitation (C. P. C. Bk. ii. tit. vii., chap. iv.) removes all disabilities which have resulted from the conviction, except such as may have been pronounced under Art. 612 of the Code of Commerce.

Certain old laws on the subject are repealed. The Minister of the Interior is authorized to publish rules for giving effect to the law, and to impose penalties of 50 lira, fine or confinement for 20 days for infringement of the same. He is also authorized to promulgate, under the same sanctions, the rules relating to the practice of prostitution, in the interest of public order, public safety, and good morals. Such are the provisions of the law relating to Public Security in Italy, and some of these provisions appear to be eminently worthy of adoption in dealing with the criminal and vagrant classes of India. Greater facility and improvement of communications have extended the scope of the operations of these classes, and each year the Police find greater difficulty in watching and controlling their movements. Offences against property are increasing, and the year 1892 has witnessed a very serious recrudescence of dacoity in parts of the Lower Provinces. The necessity for strengthening the hands of the Police, and placing the surveillance of bad characters on a legal basis, has been recognized by the Government of India, and it is to be hoped that the Bill which is now on the anvil, will be worthy of the great traditions of the Indian Legislative Department, and a fitting adjunct to the Criminal Codes of the Indian Empire.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

ART. XI.—THE DEHRA DUN.

III.

The *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XXXI, 1858: Art. IX. The Dehra Doon as a seat of European Colonisation in India.

Historical and Statistical Memoir of Dehra Doon. By G. R. C. Williams, B.A., Bengal Civil Service, Roorkee, Thomason College Press, 1874.

Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, Vols. X and XI.

Reports on Projects for the proposed Dehra Dún Railway, 1885-87.

Final Report of the Eighth Revision of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Dehra Dún District. Allahabad Government Press, 1886.

Reports of the Forest Department.

FISCAL HISTORY.

THE above is the heading of Chapter II of the Settlement Report of 1886. The Chapter begins with an account of the early history of the Dun, taken from the Imperial Gazetteer. This is at first mythological; but an authentic record of comparatively modern times exists, in "the famous Kalsi stone, near Haripur, on the right bank of the Jumna, inscribed with an edict of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka," which, it is said, may mark the ancient boundary between India and the Chinese Empire. "It consists of a large quartz boulder, standing on a ledge which overhangs the river, and is covered with the figure of an elephant, besides an inscription in the ordinary character of the period." This stone is in Janusár-Báwar, a pargana of the Dehra Dun District, but not in the Dun itself, which, historically an integral portion of Sirmur, was conquered in the same campaign as was the Dun, but remained a separate charge until 1829. Authentic history of the Dun begins with the seventeenth century, when it formed a portion of the Garhwal kingdom. I must refer those who want to know what went on in the Dun in the old days, to the Gazetteer, or to Mr. Williams' Memoir, in which there is a more detailed account of its history, including a narrative of the campaign against the Gurkhas, who conquered the country in 1803, and ruled it with a rod of iron. There is also a condensed, but well written, abstract in a "Guide to Masuri, Landaur, Dehra Dun, and the Hill's north of Dehra," by Mr. John Northam, which was published in 1884. This little book gives a very good description of the district and neighbouring hills and Native States, and much useful information.

The Dun was first occupied by the British Government in 1814, and the first Land-Revenue Settlement made was that of Mr. Calvert, for the four years, 1815 to 1819. In 1814 the population did not exceed 17,000, the inhabitants having fled to escape the oppression of the Gurkhas. The total collections in 1815 were only Rs. 22,515-12-0, including Rs. 12,688-10-3 of *sair*, or miscellaneous revenue; so that the Land Revenue was only Rs. 9,827-1-9.

The second Settlement was made by Mr. Moore, Collector of Saharanpur, for five years, and the average collection of these years was Rs. 13,066. The third (also a quinquennial) Settlement, made by Mr. Shore, yielded an average amount of Rs. 13,620 as land revenue. "It was remarkable," says Mr. Williams, "because the position of the *mālguzars* was then, for the first time, indicated to be identical with that of the Zemindars of the plains, although they retained the name of *thekadārs*, or farmers. Before the conquest, indeed, they had often been treated as tenants-at-will rather than lessees.

"The highest rate of assessment was only about 4 annas per *kutcha bigha*" (5·25 to 1 acre,) "while the *thekadār's* share of the produce in kind never exceeded one-fourth, one-seventh, or one-eighth, and sometimes fell so low as one-eighteenth. But such was the incredible laziness of the cultivating tenants, that they were in a most wretched condition, living from hand to mouth, and completely at the mercy of petty money-lenders. Nothing else could be expected of men who thought it a grievance to work on a cloudy day, remained altogether idle on a rainy one, and never went through more than six or seven hours' honest toil out of 24. The great demand for agricultural labour, due to the large proportion of waste lands, encouraged their indifference by keeping rents down, since nothing was easier than to emigrate to villages where the land was nearly all fallow, and the rates merely nominal.

Mr. Shore, a liberal Conservative, was strongly in favour of creating a rural aristocracy with a permanent interest in the improvement of agriculture, by placing the so-called farmers on the same footing as the Zemindars of the plains, and acknowledging their claims to a transferable proprietary right in the land."

But Mr. Shore proposed not to confer the privileges of a Zamindar on a farmer of a village newly formed, or deserted and repopled, until the revenue paid amounted to fifty rupees a year, and the village contained not less than five hundred standard *bighas* of cultivated land. Mr. Shore's successor, Major Young, "having radical tendencies, held diametrically opposite views, and dealt a severe blow to Mr. Shore's protégés." Assuming correctly that the proprietary right in the land was vested in Government, he jumped to the conclusion that no one else had any subordinate title to it, and that the next Settlement should, therefore, be made direct with the cultivators, making exception only in the case of *thekadārs* of respectability and long standing, whose ancestors had held the post, and who were now resi-

dent landholders, and who should, as a matter of favour and great kindness, be invested by Government with the rank and title of *mokaddam* zamindars. These *mokaddams* were to collect the revenue from the cultivating tenants, and get ten per cent. of it for their trouble. The right of succession to this office Major Young intended to be hereditary, "by entail to the next male heir, without the power of selling, willing it away, or sequestering it in any manner." Another feature in Major Young's scheme was the appointment of an efficient staff of *patwaris*, village accountants. The immediate result of the new system would, he calculated, be, after deducting cost of collection and accounting, a net revenue of Rs. 16,155.

"One very curious proposal was the abolition of five police *choukis* (stations) which he deemed perfectly useless, for he was convinced they gave more annoyance to the inhabitants than they afforded protection. With the saving of Rs. 1,884, thus effected, he suggested making an addition of $\frac{5}{100}$ to the *mokaddams'* *malikana*. A still stranger thing is, that the whole scheme was unconditionally sanctioned by Resolution of Government, dated 16th March 1830. The only modification introduced was that the *mokaddams* were to be distinctly regarded as officers of Government liable to removal for misconduct."

Major Young accordingly made the fourth Settlement for ten years, 1830 to 1839. The persons at whose charge and risk the land had been cultivated were recognised as proprietors of it, and it was secured to them and their heirs for ever, subject to payment of rent. The land, after being measured out to each *zamindar*, was assessed at 3 annas per *katcha* bigha of $1,008\frac{1}{3}$ * square yards, with a few exceptions. Only the lands under cultivation were assessed. The waste lands might be taken up by the nearest cultivating proprietor, on application through the *mokaddam*, at rates increasing to the normal in five years. Mr. Williams remarks that the great error now made was, that prescriptive rights were summarily ignored wholesale, and he refers to Mr. Ross' printed Report of June 1850, for a discussion on the consequent disadvantages, as well as on the defects, of the old system. The disadvantages of the new system consisted "chiefly in the minute subdivision of the *zamindari* right, accompanied by equally minute subdivision of responsibility for the revenue." The consequences of Major Young's mistake were not immediately felt, because the *parvenu* landholders, in many instances, did not avail themselves of the questionable boon he had conferred on them, but continued to pay rent as cultivators to the *bonâ-fide* *zamindars*. Besides, the

* This is equal $\frac{1}{4.8}$ of an acre : the present local *kutcha bigha* in the Dun is $\frac{1}{5.25}$ of an acre.

abundance of good land, without occupants generally, rendered the payment of revenue easy. Mr. Williams continues :—

“ But when, in 1837-38, the Government offered land to European grantees on much more favourable terms than those of 1830, while Colonel Young, acting on a misconception of the orders of the Board of Revenue, issued a proclamation inviting natives to come forward and bid against the intruders, the value of land suddenly rose in the market, and the question of proprietary right became important. On the one hand the imagination of European speculators was inflamed by an exaggerated idea of the advantages held out to them; on the other, the ambiguous terms of Colonel Young's proclamation induced natives to believe, that they would obtain land on the same terms as their foreign competitors.”

The unfortunate and disastrous results of the grants of land made by Government in 1838, were narrated in the first article of this series. Mr. Williams goes on :—

“ Colonel Young, enamoured of his own theories, made another ryotwari settlement for 20 years in 1840. The assessment remained as before, 3 annas per *bigha*, but the following modifications were introduced :—(1) the Dun having been surveyed by Captain Brown in 1838-39, the boundaries of every village determined, the cultivated, culturable, and barren land was measured off, and the survey became the standard of the assessable area instead of the *khasra* measurement; (2) the assignment of one-fourth of the culturable land, free of assessment, to each village for grazing purposes; (3) the offer of the remaining culturable land, first to the old cultivators, and next to other applicants, on indefinite grant terms.”

“ This settlement was never sanctioned. It lay open to the same general objections as the previous one, and also had other faults.”

But it appears to have been acted upon for some years.

“ Mr. F. Williams, appointed Superintendent of Dehra Dún on the 16th January 1842, commenced the exposure of these mistakes. Mr. H. Vansittart, who took office on the 16th February 1843 ” (and who is still a resident of the Western Dún) “ went to the root of the evil, boldly questioning the justice, as well as the expediency of the *ryotwari* system.”

Convinced of the correctness of Mr. Vansittart's views, Government, in 1845, ordered a revision of Colonel Young's proceedings. Mr. Vansittart set to work and concluded his operations before the end of the year. This made the fifth Settlement :—

“ The assessments were lowered, tenures enquired into, and Zemindari rights conferred upon the old *málguzars* wherever their claims were proved to his satisfaction.

“ His proceedings, however, seem to have been hurried, and in some respects defective, so a second revision was undertaken and brought to a conclusion at the end of the year 1848 by his successor Mr. A. Ross, whose printed Report, (submitted in June 1850), is among the books of reference in every Collector's office.” “ Mr. Ross's Settlement finally established the Zemindaree system in the Doon.” “ Only six instances occurred in which cultivators desired to be recorded as subordinate proprietors.”

Mr. Ross's Settlement, which was the sixth in succession, appears to have been for thirteen years, from 1848-49 to 1860-61. The demand for 1847-48 had been Rs. 25,957-6-10, and it varied under the new Settlement from Rs. 20,770 in 1848-49 to Rs. 28,116 in 1860-61. The Board of Revenue, in reviewing Mr. Ross's proceedings—after noticing Colonel Young's theories as to tenures, and the policy which he based upon them—said (I quote from Mr. Baker's Settlement Report)

“But in 1845 Government, on full enquiry and consideration, came to the conclusion that proprietary rights in the land were in abeyance only. To the Government of that day it appeared, that, except when arbitrarily disregarded by the Native Princes in the exercise of their irresponsible and unlimited power, subordinate proprietary rights possessing much value existed in the Dún as elsewhere, and that practically the rights possessed by the thekadars of the Dún under the first three Settlements, were of this description. These men exercised unlimited control over their villages; they could sell and mortgage them; they alone provided for their cultivation; and they were responsible, with their persons and property, for the Government revenue. They were, in fact, the Zamindars.”

“The proprietary rights conferred in 1830 upon the cultivators had never been generally assumed. The measure, sweeping as it was in its character, was to a very great extent practically inoperative. The rights conferred by it were little valued or understood. In 73 out of 183 estates in which the proprietary right had been thrust on the cultivators, it was never claimed. The right lay in abeyance, and the cultivator continued to pay the proportion of the gross produce payable as rent from year to year, according to the agreement made with the acknowledged proprietors.”

Mr. Ross, accordingly, in the sixth Settlement, ruled that cultivators claiming proprietary rights who had been recorded as proprietors in 1830, and who had since exercised their proprietary rights, should continue to be regarded as proprietors; recorded cultivators, settled since 1830, were recorded as tenants only; all settled previous to 1830, who had exercised proprietary rights were recorded either as subordinate proprietors or as cultivators according to the wish expressed by them.”

The result was that out of 170 villages in the Dún there were only six instances of cultivators expressing their desire to be recorded as subordinate proprietors, and that the settlement made was similar in most respects to those made throughout the rest of the North-Western Provinces.

In November 1860, Mr. Manderson began a seventh Settlement, which was intended to be for thirty-years; but in July 1862, Mr. C. A. Daniell took over charge of the operations, as well as of the district, and he submitted his report in February 1864. The Settlement was therefore more than three years under preparation. During 1864, the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue visited the district and conferred with the local officers, with the result that Mr. Daniell was ordered to make

further inquiries, and reconsider the assessment he had made of waste lands included in village areas, which, it was believed, had not always been adequately assessed, and also reconsider the disposal and assessment he had made of extensive forest tracts. Mr. Daniell accordingly returned to the Dún in October 1865; but, owing to various interruptions, did not submit his second report until April 1867. The result of this seventh Settlement was to enhance the "demand" to Rs. 31,637, and it was sanctioned for 20 years from 1st July 1866. The cost of the settlement was Rs. 45,083, including the expense of preparing entirely new field maps. No less than 110 estates were reported as fit for permanent settlement, but both the Commissioner (Mr. Fleetwood Williams) and the Board strongly opposed this being carried out; and, though the Government and the Secretary of State seem to have contemplated something being done in that direction, the question appear to have been allowed to drop quietly, as it was not even referred to in the Government Resolution in which the Settlement was sanctioned. The "*jamas*"—total demands—of the seven settlements made in the Dún up to 1866 were as follows:

<i>Period.</i>				<i>Jama.</i>
First	...	...	... Rs.	11,355
Second	...	...	... "	11,977
Third	...	...	... "	13,102
Fourth	...	...	... "	17,405
Fifth	...	...	... "	23,538
Sixth	...	...	... "	20,505
Seventh...	...	...	... "	31,637

Mr. Williams says that, to the amount given in the above table as the *jama* under the seventh Settlement ought to be added the revenue from ten grant villages, which yielded, in 1866-67, Rs. 4,333, and that the land tax, therefore, really amounted to a total of Rs. 35,970, while, of the actual demand in 1873-74, Europeans were responsible for Rs. 9,546. He remarked on the progress of the district as follows:—

"We thus see that, although the Doon yields a respectable income from other sources, the increase of the land revenue has not kept pace with that of the population, having little more than trebled since Mr. Calvert's Settlement" (1816-1819), "whereas the latter has more than quadrupled; nor is so large an increase, as might be expected from the apparent advantages of situation and climate, ever likely to take place, except from the extension of tea cultivation."

I will presently show that the increased profit to Government from the extension of tea cultivation was, when the next Settlement came to be made, found to be non-existent. Mr. Williams explained that—

"Large tracts are either irretrievably barren, or appropriated to the growth of timber, while elsewhere the more valuable crops, with the
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exception of rice and *páunda* (sugarcane), "will not thrive so well as in the plains, on account of the excessive moisture. There is also a deficiency of manure, and much of the culturable soil is extremely poor, being little better than sand and shingle." (I have seen no sandy tracts in the Dún). "In the midst of this occur those fertile patches, the value of which has sometimes given rise to expectations certainly not warranted by tradition. for when, in former days, every available square of ground between the Ganges and the Jumna was, as is said, under cultivation, the jumma is not alleged to have exceeded Rs. 1,25,000." Mr. Daniell says—"in the Doon land even now is not so prolific as in the plains. The heaviest cereal crops are scarcely high crops, more than 3 to 5 of the plains" (*sic*). "To all this may be added the fact that Mr. Daniell was unquestionably lenient in his assessments."

"A great deal of the improvement that *has* taken place must be ascribed to canal irrigation, though it would be hard to say exactly how much. In his first Settlement Report Mr. Daniell attributes Rs. 4,160 of Rs. 7,941 assessed on an irrigable Khusrah area of 8,143 acres, to the benefits of canal irrigation. He also gives a scale exhibiting the average difference in the growth of the several crops, both irrigated and unirrigated, adding that tea in the third or fourth year fails entirely without water, while sugar-cane, tobacco, and garden produce are, as a rule, entirely dependent on it."

Irrigated, per acre.			Unirrigated, per acre.		
Rice,	maunds, pucca	16·18	6·10	maunds, pucca.	
Wheat	"	8·10	4·6	"	
Barley	"	6·7	4·5	"	
Gram	"	5·6	4·5	"	
Oats	"	7·8	5·6	"	
Mukka (maize ?)	"	8·10	5·6	"	

"In his second report he makes another calculation, attributing a smaller proportion of the increase to canal irrigation :—

Total area of villages in which canal irrigation exists.	Actual area recorded as irrigable within those villages.	Proposed Jumma or demand of the above villages.	Proportion of Jumma attributable to canal irrigation.
Acres.	Acres.	Rs.	Rs.
14,975	8,085	14,831	4,747

Mr. Williams remarks that, in all probability, neither of these estimates is sufficiently favourable to the canals. Frequent alienations of landed property followed the recognition of the zamindári rights of the *malgoozaree* in the Settlement of 1848. The statistics of transfers from that year to 1863 are said by Mr. Williams to have been :—

Of whole estates	...	...	60
Of portions of estates	...	...	81
Of biswah shares of estates	...	...	118
TOTAL			259

The principal sellers were Rájputs, 141 in number; and the principal buyers—Europeans, no less than 91; the net result being an increase of eighty-three Europeans to thirty-seven *Bania* landowners, with a decrease of 110 Rajputs, who form the majority of the village proprietors. Mr. Williams commented thus:—

“It is indeed a matter of congratulation that here at least the Bunea monopoly over Civil Court sales has been broken through. So far, the progress of European enterprise in the Doon is extremely satisfactory, and its extent will be better understood from a consideration of the fact, that nearly one-fourth of the whole demand of 1866-67 was collected from Europeans. They have, we may conclude, established a firm footing among the landed proprietors of the district; and their speculations would have been more daring, had not exaggerated expectations of the profits to be derived from tea, in the minds of persons wanting the necessary experience of its culture, reacted in the shape of undue despondency, but this feeling of discouragement is happily beginning to wear away.”

Mr. Baker, in his Report on the Settlement of 1886, the eighth revision, said that the last Settlement had worked well; it was a fair, light assessment, under which both proprietors and tenants had had a time of almost uninterrupted prosperity. There had been no occasion to alter or revise the demand in any way. Coercive processes were almost unknown in the Dún. A few Europeans occasionally gave trouble, but irrecoverable balances never occurred. During the whole period of the Settlement, there had been no sales for arrears of land revenue. 34,940 acres, or 137 per cent. of the total revenue-paying land, had changed hands by sale from 1866 to 1883. From a statement showing the transfers in the Eastern and Western *parganas*, and for the whole Dún respectively in three periods, namely, from 1866 to 1871, from 1872 to 1877, and from 1878 to 1883, it appeared that in the last period the number of years' purchase paid for the land bought was as follows:—

			Number of years purchase of <i>Jama</i> .		
			1866-71.	1872-77.	1878-83.
Western Dun	...	...	57.1	55.3	108.1
Eastern Dun	...	...	49.4	39.7	104.9
Total for W. and E. Duns	...	...	55.0	50.4	107.3

Mr. Baker remarks upon the high price paid during the last period, and said it was probably owing to the fact that the land sold contained (bore?) valuable standing forest. But, he said, it was also an indication of the lightness of the assessment. It must be remembered that the number of years' purchase given above is of the land revenue, and not of the rental. Mr. H. G. Ross wrote (in 1885?)—"land has risen considerably in value and is eagerly sought after. The sales that have taken place during the last 20 years show a steady rise year by year. The average price is not less than Rs. 25 or 30 an acre for good ordinary land." From tables given in Mr. Daniell's report, it appears that in the period from 1848 to 1866, the number of years' purchase of the *jama* paid did not exceed ten, and that whole villages, aggregating in area over thirteen thousand acres, were sold for Rs. 73,203, or at a rate of Rs. 5-8-10 an acre; while small patches of cultivated land sold at Rs. 17-10-0 an acre. This comparison shows a very marked rise in the value of the land in the Dún.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE DISTRICT.

In the introduction to his report on the eighth revision of the Land Revenue Settlement, the actual work of which was performed by Mr. H. G. Ross, C. S., as special Settlement Officer, Mr. Baker notes that Mr. Ross had been superintendent (Collector) of the Dún from November 1869 to November 1880, with the exception of nine months' absence on furlough, and that he took up the appointment of Commissioner of the Kumaon Division in April 1885, as soon as the work of the Settlement was finished, which led to Mr. Baker being placed in charge to complete the preparation of the records, and to write the final report. I do not know where Mr. Ross served after leaving the Dún at the end of 1880; but it appears that he was selected by the Local Government and sent back to the Dún to make the Settlement, because of his long and intimate acquaintance with the district; and he began operations in November 1883. An inquiry had been instituted some years before with the view of ascertaining whether it was expedient to revise the Settlement, and on what principles a revision could be most advantageously conducted. The information placed before Government showed that the rental had so increased as to justify a very large enhancement of the land-revenue, while the village maps and records were usually either obsolete or so inaccurate as to be of no practical value, and a revision was, therefore, for administrative as well as for fiscal reasons, urgently required. It was, therefore, with the concurrence of the Government of India, decided to undertake the revision, and that a re-survey should be made, as a measure preliminary to

the preparation of a correct record of cultivating rights. The cadastral survey was made by the Survey Department, Mr. W. A. Wilson, suveyor, being placed in charge: work was begun on 23rd November 1883. The demarcation of boundaries (?) was completed for both the Western and Eastern Dúns on the 31st January 1884: the last maps and *khasras* for the Western Dún were received in the Settlement Office on 31st December 1884, and for the Eastern Dún on 26th February 1885. The maps were plotted on the scale of 16 inches to 1 mile, and they were made over to the Settlement Department from time to time, as soon as they were ready, so that the work of settlement went on concurrently with that of the survey. The survey staff also compiled the schedules of particulars required as data for making the settlement. Mr. Ross reported that,—

“All village boundaries in the valley” (I may explain that neither the revision of the Settlement nor the re-survey were applied to the hill *pargana* Jaunsár-Báwar) “have been re-traversed with the theodolite. All villages in which the greater portion is cultivated, or where the cultivated land is scattered about and mixed up with the uncultivated, have been re-surveyed on the 16 inch scale. When the cultivated area bears only a small proportion to the uncultivated, or is in compact blocks, the cultivated only has been surveyed on the 16 inch scale, and the remainder has been filled in from Major Thuillier's 4 inch scale map.

“Major Thuillier's map of the Dún is most perfect, and the protractions from it on to our 16 inch cadastral map are, for all practical purposes, absolutely correct. The maps now prepared ought to answer for all time to come, care being taken to add extended cultivation from time to time” In the hills (that is, the south face of the Himalya) “where the estates are sometimes 6 or 7 thousand acres, with two or three hundred acres only cultivated, and where the boundaries are always natural features, the boundaries have not been re-traversed with the theodolite, and the cultivated portion only has been re-surveyed on the 16 inch scale.”

Mr. Baker says of the maps of the cadastral survey :—

“The maps are most perfect and complete. It will never be necessary to have a re-survey of the Dehra plateau, or river tract, as there is no great room for increase of cultivation. It will not pay to re-survey the sub-mountain or hill tract, as nothing can ever make cultivation there really valuable. It may then be stated broadly that the Western Dún need never be surveyed again. In the Eastern Dún there is still a large field for extending cultivation, and so probably, after 20 years, it will be found necessary to make entirely new maps.”

When the Settlement Report, with the reviews of it by the Board of Revenue and the Local Government reached the Government of India, it was “observed,” that in neither of the reviews had any allusion been made to the important question of the maintenance of the maps and records which have been provided by the settlement. The Settlement Officer had said that in the Eastern Dún, owing to extension of culti-

vation, it would probably be necessary to make entirely new maps after 20 years. "His Excellency the Governor-General in Council, however, cannot accept this conclusion, as the *patwari* staff of the district has been largely increased, and the Government of India expects to see that measures are taken for the training of *patwaris* with a view to their keeping these maps and records up to date." I have had occasion to see, in several cases, that the *patwadris* (village accountants) are keeping the maps up to date by adding the new cultivation, which in the Eastern Dún is increasing by "leaps and bounds;" but their work may require inspection and check, by an expert in the field, beyond the scrutiny that can be applied by the district staff. And it is necessary that the alterations of the maps made by the *patwaris* should be accurately recorded on the copies of the maps kept in the *tahsil* and in the Superintendent's Office. There should, therefore, be no scant supply of copies of the maps, and yet it seems that only five copies have been printed by the photo-zinco process. Copies of maps must be wanted on each occasion of transfer of land, and also when land has to be taken up for public purposes, such as for the proposed railway through the Dún. The two spare paper copies will soon be used up.

Mr. Baker said, regarding the new Settlement, that there were no very difficult questions of revenue policy to be dealt with, or intricate problems of land tenures and rights to be solved:

"The work of assessment, owing to the smallness of the cultivated area and the good relations generally prevailing between proprietors and tenants, was comparatively easy. It was also facilitated by the general confidence all classes felt in Mr. Ross, whom they had known for so many years, and by Mr. Ross' own intimate knowledge of the circumstances of almost every village and landholder in the Dún. The final report derives whatever importance it may possess, not so much from the magnitude of the financial issues involved in the settlement, as from the fact that it illustrates the progress, and sets forth the present condition of a tract which has largely attracted European enterprise and capital in the past, while, if its natural advantages are turned to the best account, the Dun may yet have a great future in store for it. As a place of residence for Europeans it may be said to possess the potentiality of developement in a greater degree than almost any other district of the provinces. It is on this account, and not because any material increase in land revenue is expected from it, that the Dun, in spite of its small area and revenue, may fairly claim to rank high amongst the most interesting districts to be found in Upper India."

From a statement given in Mr. Baker's report, it appears that the total area settled had increased since 1866 from 241,243 acres to 254,143 acres, or by 5.35 per cent., which increase is attributed to the superior accuracy of the professional survey; the barren area had remained almost unchanged, and was

about 100,000 acres; the culturable waste had fallen from 77,251 acres to 57,062 acres, a decrease of 35·35 per cent.; the cultivated irrigated area had risen from 15,641 acres to 26,166 acres, only 67·29 per cent.; the cultivated unirrigated area also had risen from 32,274 acres to 44,585 acres, an increase of 38·45 per cent.,—the total cultivated area having thus risen from 47,915 acres to 70,751 acres, or by 47·66 per cent.; and the total assessable area had risen from 130,365 acres to 143,322 acres, or by 9·94 per cent. A statement of the areas occupied by the principal crops, at the date of the eighth Settlement, as compared with the areas under the seventh, in the Western and Eastern Dúns respectively, shows that the areas of *kharif* (rainy season) crops had risen from 21,738 acres to 38,965 acres, or by 79·2 per cent. The increase was most conspicuous in rice,—3,614 acres in the Western, and 1,511 acres in the Eastern Dún, or 85·7 per cent. Maize had risen from 335 to 2,233 acres, and tea from 1,167 to 5,496 acres. The area under *rabi* (cold-weather crops) had not risen so much: only from 26,130 to 31,647 acres, or by 21·3 per cent.

The causes which contributed to make the period of the seventh Settlement of the Dún, from 1866 to 1886, one of almost uninterrupted prosperity, are thus stated by Mr. Baker:—

“The assessment was undoubtedly light, and the zemindars were left in possession of ample waste land, jungle and forest, which has turned out of great value. There had been no drought or general failures of crops. Tea, and the Forest Department have led to a large expenditure of capital. There has always been a brisk demand for labour. Good relations have uniformly prevailed between landlord and tenant owing to tenants being in request.”

POPULATION.

The results of this happy state of things were the increase of cultivation already mentioned, and that the population had nearly doubled itself by 1881, the year in which the census had last been taken. The population of the Western Dún had risen from 53,702 to 77,935, an increase of 45·09 per cent.; that of the Eastern Dún from 13,600 to 21,018, or by 54·54 per cent.,—total of the twin valleys,—not of the district as the report says, for the *Jaunsar* pargana is not included,—from 67,312 to 98,953, an increase of 47·06 per cent. The growth of the towns of Dehra and Mussooree accounts for a considerable portion of the increase of population. The following abstract of a table given in the Settlement Report, gives the totals of each of the three great classes under which the population of the two Dúns was enumerated in 1865 and 1881:—

YEAR.	Total population.			Hindus.			Muhammadans.			Others.*		
	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.
1865 ..	67,312	40,759	26,553	54,831	33,046	21,785	11,462	7,263	4,199	1,019	450	569
1881 ...	98,953	58,585	40,368	81,267	47,759	33,308	15,801	9,701	6,100	1,885	925	960
Increase ..	31,641	17,826	13,815	26,436	14,913	11,523	4,339	2,438	1,901	866	475	391
Percentage ..	47.06	26.49	20.53	39.27	22.15	17.12	6.44	3.62	2.82	1.29	0.70	0.59

* The column headed "Other's" is headed "Christians" in the Settlement Report, but this is evidently incorrect.

The continued deficiency of the female population among the Hindus and Muhammadans is very marked.

Writing in 1874, Mr. Williams said that, although the population of the Dún had been more than quadrupled in fifty-nine years of British rule, the district was far from being densely inhabited, for the people numbered barely 76,413 souls to 673 square miles of country. A rough census taken immediately after the conquest, had set down the population at 17,000, or thereabouts. Another, taken in 1823, gave 20,179 or adding, in 1827, the Sirmur Battalion and their followers, and the Jail population, &c., a total of 24,529. Mr. Shore then attributed the paucity of children (only 6,340 to 13,608 adults) to the slaughter of the adult males during the Gurkha invasion, and to the extensive practice of female infanticide, designed to save good looking girls from falling into the hands of the invaders. (In 1823 the number of girls was less than half the number of boys). Hence, it is said, the district was full of old widows and young unmarried men under thirty years of age. In 1847-48 the population is supposed to have been 32,083. The first regularly taken census seems to have been that of 1865, the totals of which have been already contrasted with those of 1881; and as Mr. Williams, says, the hill stations of Mussooree and Landour were then omitted from calculation, I presume that in the comparison given in Mr. Baker's report, between the populations of 1865 and 1881, they were not included in the figures for the latter year.

In 1827 Major Young estimated the population of the Jaunsár-Báwar pargana at 23,228 souls, "or about the same as that of the Dún." According to Mr. Ross' report of 1849, it had fallen to 17,278 in 1834, but rose to 19,471 in 1848; but the return in the "Statistics, North-Western Provinces," gave 24,684. According to the Census Report of 1865, the population of this parganna had risen to 36,532, and when Mr. Williams wrote in 1873-74,

it was said to be 40,533, which, added to the population of the two Dúns in 1872, namely, 76,413, gives a total for the district of 116,946. In 1881 the population of the Jaunsár Báwar Pargunna (Kalsi *Tahsil*) was found to be 45,117, and increase of 11·31 per cent. since 1872.

The Census of 1881 was taken all over India on the 17th February; but as at that time of the year the Hill Stations in the North-Western Provinces are greatly deserted by Europeans and their followers, a special enumeration of their populations was made on the 17th September 1880. The population of each *pargana*, by sexes, was found to be as follows:—

Name of Tahsil.	Name of Pargana.	Total.	Male.	Female.
Dehra ...	{ Eastern Dún ...	21,018	12,508	8,510
	{ Western Dún ...	77,935	46,077	31,858
	Total Dún ...	98,953	58,585	40,368
Kalsi ...	Jaunsár Báwar ...	45,117	25,400	19,717
	District Total ...	144,070	83,985	60,085

The population of the several *parganas* by religions is not given in the Census Report, but the population by religions of the *Tahsils* was as follows, omitting the distinction by sex for the sake of brevity:—

Name of Tahsil.			POPULATION.				
			Total.	Hindus.	Musal-mans.	Jains.	Others.
Dehra Dún	...	...	98,953	81,039	15,801	115	1,998
Kalsi	...	...	45,117	44,714	726	19	188
	Total	...	144,070	1,25,223	11,527	134	2,186

The paucity of Musalmans in the hill tracts is strikingly shown in this table: In the Dún they are in the proportion of about 19½ per cent. of the Hindus; but in Jaunsár Báwar the percentage is little over 1½. Of the whole district Mr. Williams said—"the Mahommadan element in the population is very slight. Most of the Mahommadans are chance visitors from the plains." "So late as 1827 there was not a single mosque in the whole valley. Now, however, there are some at Dehra and Rajpore, for example." In 1865 the population of the *parganas*, by religions, was, according to Mr. Williams—

Parganas.	Total.	Hindus.	Musalman and others not Hindus.
Eastern Dún	13,600	12,789	811
Western Dún	52,693	42,042	10,651
Jaunsár Báwar	36,532	26,812	9,720
	102,825	81,643	21,182

I am unable to reconcile the number of Musalmans and others not Hindus, here given—9,720—with the total of Musalmans, Jains and “others” according to the Census of 1881, which is only 933. I see that in the Settlement Report of 1886, Mr. Baker gives the population of the Eastern and Western Dún *parganas* by religions as follows, omitting distinction of sex:—

	Total Population.	Hindus.	Muham- madans.	Christian and others. (?)
Eastern Dún	21,018	19,463	1,515	40
Western Dún	77,935	61,804	14,286	1,845
Total	98,953	81,267	15,801	1,885

The Municipal towns and the Cantonments of Dehra and Landour are included in the Western Dún entries: their populations, on the 17th February 1881, as stated by Mr. Baker, were as follows:—

	Total Population.	Hindus.	Musalman.	Others.
Mussooree Municipality ...	3,106	2,022	644	440
Dehra Do.	18,959*	13,447	4,801	711
Landour Cantonment	1,746	1,078	556	112
Dehra Do.	1,724	1,616	80	28
Rájpur Town	3,293	2,604	618	71
Total urban population in Western Dún	28,828	20,767	6,699	1,362

The total for the Dehra Municipality is incorrectly printed in the Settlement Report, 8,959, instead of 18,959. But there is a worse error than that (a mere misprint) somewhere, for Table 6 of the Supplement to the Census Report of 1881, which gives the population of Municipal Towns by sexes, is as follows:—

Municipality.			Total.	Males.	Females.	Remarks.
Dehra	...	...	18,959	11,144	7,815	Including Total Male Female. population of Canton- ments 4,428 3,357 1,071
Mussooree	...	...	3,106	2,414	692	
Total	...	...	22,065	13,558	8,507	

It thus appears that the population of the Dehra Cantonments was included in that given as the population of the Municipality, and that the total and numbers of each sex were as stated in the column of remarks; whereas Mr. Baker, in the Settlement Report, gives the figures for the Dehra Cantonment separately, and very much lower than those given in the Census Report, totals 1,724 against 4,428. The figures for the Dehra Cantonment ascertained by the census of February 1891 were, males 2,809, females 994; total 3,803, though, during the decade, a second battalion had been added to the 2nd Gurkha Regiment, and a new separate Cantonment had been established for it. Yet, comparing the census returns of the two years 1881 and 1891, the population of the Dehra Cantonment had decreased by 625 souls. This is discouraging; but I will see whether I can extract anything more of interest from the Settlement Report and the Census Returns, which, as regards the period from 1881 to 1891 have not yet been published, except the totals for districts and towns. The totals for *Tahsils* or *Parganas* are not given, so no comparison can be made as regards these details. A regular Census appears to have been made on five occasions, namely, in 1853, 1865, 1872, 1881 and 1891, and the following table shows the progressive increase in the population since 1865—

TOTAL POPULATION.

Years.			Total.	Hindus.	Musalman and others not Hindus.
1865	...	..	102,825	81,643	21,182
1872	...	...	116,945	.....	.....
1881	...	...	144,070	125,223	18,847
1891	...	...	168,135	143,718	24,417

Mr. Williams says that the population of the Hill Stations, Mussooree and Landour, was not included in the figures for 1865, which have been above quoted from his book, so that the progress from 1865 to 1872 cannot have been much. The population by sexes was, by the last three censuses—

TOTAL POPULATION.

Years.				Total.	Males.	Females.
1872	...	...	...	116,945	68,691	48,254
1881	...	...	...	144,070	83,985	60,085
1891	...	.	...	168,135	100,324	67,811

The percentages of males and females in 1872 were 58·76 and 41·26, and in 1891, 59·66 and 40·33, respectively ; so that in sixteen years they had become nearly 1 per cent. more disproportionate.

In the "Preliminary Dissertation," or the text of the Report on the Census taken in 1881 of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, as distinguished from the tabular statements, considerable space is given to what is called the "movement of the population," *i. e.*, its fluctuations or changes, and these are shown to have been most remarkable in the seven districts of the Benares Division, always exhibiting increases in the total of persons, varying from 10·71 per cent. in the Basti District, to 34·78 in the Ballia District, 20·06 in the whole Division ; and the result of the analysis of the returns is that it is justifiable to ascribe the increase almost entirely to the great omissions in the previous enumeration, though there had certainly been some real increase, owing to comparative immunity from famine and drought, and also to immigration in the Mirzapur district. A table is then given of the percentage, of increase of population in the remaining thirty districts of the North-Western Provinces (Oudh not included), and Dehra Dún heads the list of 17 increases, with a percentage of 22·2.

The population of the towns and cantonments in the district as shown by the three last censuses, was as follows ; the population of the towns and cantonments in the Kumaon district being added for the sake of comparison :—

Name of District.	Name of Town or Cantonment,	1872.	1881.	1891.
Dehra Dún	Mussooree Municipality	8,601	3,106	5 142
	Landaaur Cantonment	.....	1,746	2,033
	Dehra Municipality	17,000	14 531	21,881
	„ Cantonment	.....	4,428	3,803
	Chakrata Cantonment	.....	1,828	1,509
	Rajpur Municipality	..	3,293	2,748
	Kalsi Town	... ..	854	1,129
	Total Dehra Dún District	....	29,786	38,245

Kumaon	{	Naini Tál Municipality	..	6,000	6,576	7,883
		" Cantonment	..	...	1,398	572
		Almora Municipality	...	4,811	4,813	6,126
		" Cantonment	...	.....	920	1,700
		Ranikhet Cantonment	..	.....	5,984	2,333
		Total	...	....	19,691	18,614
		Ramnagar	...	.....	.....	5,343
		Halwani	...	.....	.....	4,947
		Total Kumaon	..	.....	.....	28,904

In the above table I have separated the Municipal and Cantonment populations of Dehra, for 1881, which, as already shown, were lumped together in the Settlement Report, and I suspect that 17,000, entered as being the population of the Dehra Municipality in 1872, also includes the population of the Cantonment. The figures for Naini Tál Cantonment in 1881 appear to be those taken in September 1880, while those for 1891 are cold weather figures. The figures for the urban populations of the Dehra Dún and Kumaon districts are complete for 1891 only; and, in comparing them, it must be remembered that they are those of the month of February, when the towns and Cantonments in the hills are comparatively empty. In view of this fact, an extra census was specially taken on the last two occasions in the month of September, in order to ascertain the population of the Hill Stations during the "season." The following are the figures enumerated on 5th September 1890; but Almora, with its Cantonment does not appear to have been "censed" in the "season," and it is therefore missing from the list. Almora, however, being the district head-quarters town, corresponds to Dehra, in the Dehra Dún district.

District.	Town or Cantonment.	POPULATION		
		Total.	Male.	Female.
Dehra Dún	Mussooree Municipality	10,084	7,507	2,577
	Landaar Cantonment	4,190	3,017	1,173
	Chakrata Cantonment	4,837	4,154	683
	Total Mussooree Group	19,111	14,678	4,433
	Naini Tál Municipality	12,408	8,757	3,651
	" Cantonment	789	625	164
	Ranikhet Cantonment	7,387	5,783	1,604
	Total Naini Tal Group	20,584	15,165	5,419

In comparing the populations of these two groups of Hill Stations, it must be kept in view that Naini Tál has been for many years the head-quarters of the Local Government for half of the year, and that the Secretariats and many other offices migrate thither annually, and also that Kumaon is the head-quarters of an administrative division, whereas the Dehra Dún is merely a district of the Meerut Division, the Commissioner of which brings only a camp office up to Mussooree for part of the season. Moreover, many more European troops are permanently quartered at the Ranikhet, than at the Chakrata Hill Station. So that, on the whole, it may be said that a large portion of the population of the Naini Tál, or Kumaon, group of Hill Stations is there from compulsion, whereas the Mussooree, or Dehra Dún group is resorted to voluntarily. Nor must it be forgotten that for many years Naini Tál has had the benefit railway communication, by the Rohilkhand and Kumaun Railway, which runs from Bareilly to Katgodam at the foot of the Himalaya, some twelve miles only from Naini Tál by bridle road, and about twenty by a good driving road and cart road; whereas Mussooree is fifty-five miles from the North-Western Railway at Saharanpur, with the Siwálik range of mountains intervening. Mussooree is clearly the favourite station with the general public. The Christian population of the Dehra Dún and Kumaon group of Hill Stations is contrasted in the following statement, which I have compiled from the Census Return of 15th September 1890:—

District.	Name of Town or Cantonment.	Total.	CHRISTIAN POPULATION.		
			European.	Eurasian.	Native.
Dehra Dún	Mussooree Municipality ...	2,756	2,595	nil.	161
	Landour Cantonment ...	952	870	nil.	82
	Chakrata Cantonment ...	1,656	1,617	12	27
		5,364	5,082	12	270
Kumaon ...	Naini Tál Municipality ...	2,023	1,664	185	194
	Ditto, Cantonment	239	230	nil.	9
	Ranikhet, Cantonment ...	2,294	2,249	nil.	45
		4,556	4,143	185	228

It appears from the above that, in spite of the preponderating official element in Naini Tál, the total Christian population of Mussooree in the season, is greater by 733 than that of Naini Tál, the excess of Europeans in the former place being 931. I cannot understand how it came to be reported that there were no Eurasians in either Mussooree or Landaur:—the Deputy Superintendent of Census operations makes no remark on the omission.

SETTLEMENT 1886.

Returning, after this long digression on the subject of population, to the subject of the present Settlement of the Dún, I find the financial result of it stated in the following Table:—

TOTALS OF THE EASTERN DUN.

	REVENUE PAYING ESTATES.		WASTE LAND GRANTS.		FREE-SIMPLE GRANTS.		REVENUE- FREE ESTATES.		TOTAL.	
	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.	Amount.	Rate on Cultivation.
	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.	Rs.	Rs. A. P.
Old Revenue at Settlement ...	7,090	0 11 1	3,181	3 7 2	170	...	1,313	1 6 2	11,884	0 15 6
Existing revenue...	7,080	0 8 1	3,291	1 2 8	170	1 12 11	1,343	0 12 10	11,884	0 10 3
Revenue given out	11,474	0 13 1	8,207	2 14 8	200	2 2 0	2,230	1 5 3	22,111	1 3 1

TOTALS OF THE WESTERN DUN.

Old Revenue at Settlement ...	24,603	0 14 10	4,083	0 13 1	4,149	4 4 8	3,211	0 15 10	36,046	1 0 1
Existing revenue...	24,159	0 10 11	4,075	0 8 6	4,149	0 11 9	3,211	0 14 6	35,594	0 10 1
Revenue by sanctioned rates ...	42,886	1 3 5	10,387	1 5 8	9,515	0 10 9	5,924	1 10 9	68,712	1 5 1
Revenue given out	40,014	1 2 1	7,481	0 15 7	7,137	1 4 6	5,733	1 9 11	60,365	1 2 6

TOTALS OF DISTRICT.

Old Revenue at Settlement ...	36,693	0 13 4	7,264	1 3 6	4,319	4 7 5	4,554	1 1 3	47,830	1 0 0
Existing revenue...	31,239	0 10 1	7,366	0 11 3	4,319	0 12 5	4,554	0 14 0	47,498	0 10 9
Revenue by sanctioned rates ...	...	.....	...	.....	...	.....	...	.....	...	.....
Revenue given out	51,488	1 0 8	15,688	1 8 0	7,337	1 4 8	...	1 8 5	82,476	1 2 8

The above table is somewhat technical in its language, but

experts will understand it. The following table appears to show the results of the Settlement as regards the revenue-paying estates only, excluding the Waste Land Grants, the Fee-simple Grants and the Revenue-free Estates :—

Pargana.	Old Revenue.	Rate on Cultivation.	New Revenue.	Rate on Cultivation.	Increase of Revenue.
	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
Western Dun ...	24,603 0 0	0 13 1	*40,014 0 0	0 15 5	62'8
Eastern Dun ...	7,090 0 0	0 9 8	†11,474 0 0	0 10 0	61'8
Total ...	31,693 0 0	0 12 3	‡51,488 0 0	0 14 1	62'4

* The Revenue on Forests, amounting to Rs. 3,807 is included in this, but the rate on cultivation has been calculated without it.

† Rs. 1,629, revenue on forests, have been included in this.

‡ Rs. 5,436, being the assessment in forests, have been included in this.

The revenue "given out" for the Dehra plateau, and the river and submontane tracts, the details of which I have not given, is said to be Rs 10,713 below what it would have been at the "sanctioned rates." It is said—

"This is due to the rates having been cautiously applied to each individual village, and allowance having been made for its special circumstances found called for. The points to which attention was drawn in the orders of Government sanctioning the rates were also carefully attended to. Mr. Ross himself did not trust absolutely to his rates. After referring to his long experience of the Dún and management of an experimental farm, he says—"With the knowledge thus acquired I felt perfectly competent to assess any village in the Dún on its own merits, according to the method generally adopted by the people themselves of fixing rents. Indeed, as this is the fairest way of assessing, I was at first inclined to dispense with rent-rates altogether, and to simply frame my assessments village by village, after full and careful consideration of the circumstances of each. As, however, other assessments have been based on rent-rates of some kind previously submitted for sanction, I felt it my duty to do my best to comply with the practice which has prevailed hitherto; though, as before stated, I must claim that the Dún cannot be judged, so far as the preparation of rent-rates is concerned, by the standard of districts where cash-rents are prevalent.

The Local Government had asked that the condition of the tenantry in the Dún, and the extent to which enhancement of cash-rents and commutation of produce-rents (which still prevail in many of the villages) were likely to follow the re-assessment of the revenue, should be fully and carefully noticed. They said that most Settlement Reports teemed with complaints about the harsh manner in which landlords treated their tenants, the bad feeling existing between them, and the fraudulent devices practised by each side to get the better

of the other, nearly always resulting in loss to the tenant. Mr. Baker reports that in the Dún there has been nothing of this kind.

"The *Zamindars* and tenants live on the happiest terms, disputes about the appraisement and weighment of grain are unheard of, complaints about illegal exaction, harassment by delaying appraisement of crops, &c., are unknown.

"Rents in kind still preponderate in the Dún and are liked by the people, though in the course of the expiring settlement, they have been largely commuted into cash in the case of occupancy tenants."

I have lately become cognizant of the case of a large estate belonging to Europeans, in which no difficulty was found in changing the system of produce-rents to money-rents. In this instance the landlords' share of the produce used to be fixed by appraisement of the growing crops, and not by weighment of the thrashed grain. But in a neighbouring and much larger estate, belonging to the largest native land owner in the Dún, weighment is the rule. Mr. Moens, in his report on the settlement of the Bareilly district, is said to have mentioned several countervailing advantages of the *batai*, or rent-in-kind system, which seem to be summed up by stating that the system creates a tie of self-interest between landlord and tenant.

"The landlord is more directly concerned in the well-being of his tenants and the good cultivation of his estates. He exerts himself to promote "the cultivation of the better crops." "He exerts himself to provide irrigation at the right time, because he knows his share of the produce will be increased at once thereby, and his supervision and authority direct the tenants, and better results are produced for all, than where each petty cultivator of six or seven acres has to look out for his own interests, unaided by the influence and capital of the *Zamindar*. This is always strongly exemplified in years of drought, when the *batai* villages always get more water than the money villages. In those years the *Zemindars* of the *batai* villages fed their cultivators; those of the money-paying villages left them to starve. They knew the places of the dead would soon be filled up by immigrants from other districts, and they actually profited by the deaths, for they demanded and got increased money-rents for the vacant fields."

Mr. Baker remarks that so long as tenants are in demand in the Dún, as they have been, the full benefit of the advantages of the *batai* system will be felt; but that, in time, population is sure to press upon the land there, as elsewhere, and cash-rents will then come to prevail.

"For another twenty years at least there is every reason to suppose tenants will be well off in the Dún. As the working of our rent law is more and more understood, kind-rents will be commuted into cash, but it must be many years before rents approach the competition stage, or rack-renting becomes possible. The condition of the tenantry in the Dún at present gives no cause for anxiety." "Presuming that prices keep up to the present figure, there will be room for considerable increase in the revenue at the next settlement. In the

Dehra plateau there will be but little increase to the actual area but the soil will be improved by continued careful cultivation. The present settlement of 20 years, at fairly light rates, will have enabled occupancy tenants to recoup themselves for their labours, and Mr. Ross feels sure that at its termination, a rise of from 10 to 15 per cent. could be made without any settlement operations at all. In the river tract and some of the submontane villages there will be increase in the cultivated area and also some improvement, but not to a very great extent. The superintendent of the Dún for the time being will be able to assess the increased revenue that may be required without any outside aid. In the Eastern Dún, if the extension anticipated takes place, it will probably be necessary to have a new settlement."

Elsewhere, in his Report, Mr. Baker refers to Mr. Ross as having pointed out that the prosperity of the Dún had shown itself in one very unfavourable light, namely, the excessive consumption of spirits. Mr. Williams, in 1874, remarked that excise yielded extraordinary returns in proportion to the small population. The total excise revenue was then Rs. 53,117. For the year 1885 Mr. Baker said, it rose to Rs. 1,02,086. But it appears that much of the liquor which pays duty in the Dún finds its way to neighbouring hill states. The incidence per head of the excise revenue in 1884-85 was double that of any other district in the North-Western Provinces, being 8 annas and 10 pies per head, while Benares came next, with 4 annas and 5 pies per head. Mr. Williams had attributed the largeness of the incidence "not so much to the general prosperity of the people, as to their intemperate habits ;" but Mr. Baker thought that—

"The high excise revenue may be regarded rather as a proof that the people have more and more money to spend in luxuries, than as a sign that the vice of actual drunkenness is increasing to any serious extent. Although excise receipts are larger and larger year by year, convictions for drunkenness in the towns of Dehra and Mussooree have not risen in proportion. In the Dún all classes drink alike ; the well to do as well as those of the lower callings to whom drinking is chiefly confined in other districts. Hindus and Muhammadans, Brahmans and Rajputs, have all cast their scruples aside in regard to liquor, and the actual drinking population in the Dún is probably as large or larger than in districts where the total population is very much greater, the drinking of spirits being looked upon as almost a necessity to keep off the effects of malaria. The rapid growth of excise revenue shows that times are prosperous for the people, who can afford to spend yearly increasing sums in this way."

Another sign of prosperity noted by Mr. Baker is the increasing number of masonry houses, of which at one time there were hardly any in the district. And I may add that though the Dún is a land of thatching grass and poles suitable for roofing, of late years roofs of squared timber and galvanized corrugated iron have appeared. The dwellings of the cultivators generally seem to belie the statement that their inmates are, as a rule, well off. But, says Mr. Baker:—

"In the poorness of his dwelling really lies the cultivator's great strength and safeguard against oppression. A few mud walls, or grass *tattis, i e*, screens, are all he has to lose when he gives up his holding, which he does not hesitate to do if not treated well according to his own ideas. Land can easily be procured elsewhere, and another hut as good as the last run up in a few days." "A well-built house and highly-cultivated fields by no means ensure a happy lot and freedom from the exactions of the landlord. The Dún cultivator, badly housed and a poor tiller of the soil though he may be, is probably more free from care, and has less reason to dread the approach of rent-day than many of his brethren in the plains, who are apparently more comfortably off."

Masonry is cheap in the Dún, because rubble-stone and lime are plentiful. The stone is everywhere present, in the shape of boulders in all the *raos* and ravines, large and irregular in shape near the Himalayas, and small and rounded in the bottom of the valley. The boulders are chiefly quartzite; but among them are many of limestone, which are carefully picked out and burned for lime. Other boulders are slate, perhaps not truly cleavable; but they are split and used for rough purposes. The beds of all the streams are full of gravel, the siftings of which make good building sand; and with this, and the boulders, and the lime, masonry good enough for small buildings is turned out at twelve rupees per one hundred cubic feet. Suitable earth for brick-making is found in many places, exposed in the ravines, generally underneath the boulders and gravel; and bricks are used along with rubble-stone masonry in the better class of buildings. Good examples of this sort of work are to be seen in the stables which were built in 1881 for the accommodation, during the hot weather and rains, of the horses belonging to the Viceroy and Staff, which are annually sent to Dehra when the Government of India migrates to Simla. There are two buildings, with two ranges of loose boxes separated by a wide passage in each, giving space for 56 horses, and there are subsidiary buildings for the servants and granaries and a hospital. These buildings are roofed with thatch, for coolness-sake. A more recent and more ornamental example of the combination of rubble-stone work and brick-work is the Sub Judge's Court house. After many years experience of thatched buildings, I strongly recommend intending settlers in the Dún to put permanent roofs on any thatched buildings they may buy. With provision for ventilation and a good ceiling, even an iron-covered roof can be made cool enough, and from a sanitary point of view plenty of ventilation is a necessity. Thatch, especially (as is usually the case) if laid over rough framing, made of poles and bamboos, requires a fresh coat every three years; and it rarely happens that the triennial period passes without considerable outlay in repairs being necessary. The *garâmîs* (thatchers) are the greatest rogues unhung, and are

even suspected of interested incendiarism. Fires in Dehra seem, in some years, to be almost epidemic. They are one of the drunken classes denounced by Mr. Williams, or as Mr. Baker would say, one of the prosperous classes, who can afford to be luxurious.

A few words may be said about "lime," which is one of the chief exports from the Dún in general. Mr. Williams wrote :

"The Dún trade naturally runs in two channels : *firstly* between the valley and the hills ; *secondly*, between it and the plains. The exports to the plains are principally timber, bamboo (sic), lime charcoal, catechu, rice and, above all, tea. In return the Dún receives, among other things, hardware of all sorts, cotton cloth, blankets, salt, sugar (*kand* and *gur*), grain, tobacco, dried fruits, and spices. All "(some of all these?) "again are sent into the hills, whence come coarse blankets, rice, ginger, turmeric, red pepper, pipe stems made of a reed called *ringal*, birch bark, walnuts, honey, wax, lac, gum, resin, many kinds of roots and mosses," (?) "besides other colouring or medicinal substances."

Before saying anything about lime, I may observe that there is no mention of oil as an import : Now-a-days kerosine oil is a large item. Rice, ginger, and turmeric grow very well in the Dún itself, but I am aware that red pepper is a condiment as to which there are various and curious tastes. Long ago, when I belonged to Burma, I used to see immense quantities of *chilis* going up and down the coast, and being landed and embarked at each port the steamers stopped at. On inquiry, I was told that the people of (say) Akyab, preferred the red pepper of Tavoy, or Chittagong, and *vice versa*, to the great profit of the carrying Company. Further commenting on the above quoted passage, it seems strange that Mr. Baker should write "a reed called *ringal*." Whatever a "reed" may really be, I cannot understand how he should not have known that a *ringal* is a small bamboo, of which there are several species in the hills. One species is common in Mussooree, and is very useful for floor matting and basket work, and it is well-known as a decoration in ball rooms and for other festive occasions. To return to the item of lime in the list of exports,—Mr. Baker says that, besides timber and forest produce, lime and tea are the most valuable exports, and he gives, as of interest, a short account of the trade in lime, which he says has always been manufactured in the Dún. Limestone is to be found in the beds of all (?) the streams running down from the Himalayas, and the abundant supply of firewood close at hand renders manufacture easy. I may remark that the firewood is to be found, at least within the boundaries of the forests, in the beds of the streams alongside the limestone boulders, in the shape of trees and branches washed down during the rains. Limestone in the Dún is a forest product, just as firewood is, and the

right to collect it from the beds of the *raos*, or streams, is sold by auction annually. The sums realised, in the three years before Mr. Baker wrote, were in 1883-84—Rs. 1,185 ; in 1884-85—Rs. 3,674 ; in 1885-86—4,221. There are, says Mr. Baker, nine lime-kilns in the Western Dún, and 27 in the Eastern Dún, all belonging to *samindars*: 5 of these, near the foot of the Himalaya, were supplied by quarrying. For all the others the limestone was obtained by collecting small boulders in the river-beds. By kilns, I imagine, Mr. Baker means sites, or separate places, where lime is burned. The *samindars* are said to receive a royalty of one anna per cart-load, or 8 annas per 100 maunds, on all stones collected ; or, sometimes, a certain length of river is leased out for a fixed sum. Mr. Ross says the right of picking up limestone in good streams, near roads, fetches as much as two and three hundred rupees a mile of dry bed. The process of manufacture is rough enough. A pit is dug, or a hole made in the bank of a river, and filled with layers of firewood, limestone and boulders, a hole being left below for draught. The burning may take a week or more, and the outturn of a pit of 1,000 c. ft. capacity may be 200 maunds of lime ; but much depends on the weather. Strong wind and hot weather are said to affect the outturn injuriously. The smoke from these kilns by day, and the glare by night, are quite features of the Dún landscape as seen from Mussooree. Mr. Baker puts the cost of each burning at Rs. 40 to 50, the outturn selling for Rs. 60 to 65. The profits, he says, are precarious. "Lime burners seldom grow rich, and a good many fail." Firewood is getting scarcer every year, and when it had to be fetched from a distance, the profits would all be swallowed up by the expense of cartage.

"The Dún exports approximately about 200,000 maunds," of lime = 2430 tons, "every year, to Saháranpur, Ambála, Muzafarnagar, Meerut the Punjáb, and sometimes even as far down as Agra. The lime is taken away chiefly on bullocks, camels, and carts which bring grain." "The price of lime fluctuates somewhat according to the season, but averages from Rs. 35 to 40 per 100 maunds."

I may add that much of the lime traffic by pack animals goes from the Dún to the plains by various bye-passes over the Siwálik range, thus escaping both tolling and telling. Much of the lime which was used in building the large bridge, on the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway, over the Ganges at Báláwáli, a structure of masonry foundations and piers, with iron (or steel ?) girders, was obtained from the Eastern Dún.

The apparent leniency of the settlement proposed by Mr. Ross seems to have considerably shocked the Board of Revenue, who, in forwarding the Settlement Report for the orders of the Local Government, said that the Commissioner of the Meerut Division had justly criticised the confusion of rates and

calculations which characterised it. The Commissioner said that Mr. Ross had thrown away all considerations as to rates, and made his assessments on what he considered each village was individually able to pay. The figures on which calculations ought to be based gave one set of results, and the decision finally come to was something quite different. The Commissioner said that the assessment was at least 30 per cent. lower than it should have been, and the Board thought there was much force in these criticisms. "The figures for the Dehra plateau" (one of the four tracts into which Mr. Ross had divided the Western Dún) "are sufficiently clear on this point";

"These give, at 50 per cent." (the theoretical share of the rent yielded by the land which Government expects to get) "the following revenues :—

			Rs.
" On recorded rental	...	...	19,067
On corrected rental	...	...	17,869
On rental by soil-rates	...	...	17,730
On rental by crop-rates (or estimated assets)	...	...	20,658
		Average	18,835

whereas the revenue actually assessed was Rs. 16,833 only."

And the Board said that Mr. Ross's explanation, that he could not bring himself to assess on conjectural rentals, and that he assessed each village on its own merits, practically amounted to a surrender of the whole position.

"Not only did Mr. Ross in many cases set aside the rates for which he had obtained the sanction of Government, and so render, more or less, useless the elaborate enquiries which were set on foot as a preliminary to the completion of the rent-rate report, but the assessment finally given out is considerably lower than the *jama* which, in the rent-rate report, it was expected would be realised."

The rent-rate report had given the following *jama* abstract for the revenue-paying villages of the Dehra Plateau :—

	Old <i>Jama</i>	Estimated new <i>Jama</i> .	Difference.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Dehra Plateau ...	9,027	17,360	+ 8,333

Whereas the final report gave the following :—

	10,338	16,833	+ 6,495
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With regard to the Commissioner's criticism on the assessments of the Eastern Dún, the Board of Revenue said that, if

they were to be judged solely with reference to the statistical returns, they would have to be pronounced extremely low. But it appeared that in many cases special allowances had been deemed necessary, in consideration of such circumstances as the unhealthiness of the climate, the consequent difficulty of retaining tenants, the precariousness of the means of irrigation, the ravages of wild animals, the expenditure of capital, or the lowness of the existing revenue demand.

"Mr. Ross possesses a very intimate knowledge of the tract, and the Senior member" (of the Board) "would be reluctant to interfere with his decisions, especially when the increase which he has imposed is in itself very considerable." "The district of Dehra Dún is peculiarly situated, and the Board are obliged to admit that the more ordinary rules of procedure have to be relaxed. Mr. Ross is an officer who possesses unique knowledge of the District, and it is probable that these assessments will be found to work as well or better than those carried out on more scientific principles in other districts of the Provinces. It may be a matter of regret that so much labour should have been spent in framing rates and estimates to which so little attention was paid in fixing the actual assessments. Had the position been clearly stated at an earlier stage of the operations, some labour and correspondence might have been avoided, and the results of the settlement operations would have been made known at an earlier date."—"The cost of settlement was comparatively heavy, the total outlay being Rs. 1,39,711-10-6 of which the amount debitable to the Settlement Department is Rs. 69,710-3-9, and to the Survey Department Rs. 70,000-7-3. Five years will elapse before this sum, even without interest, is repaid by the increased revenue and cesses."

But the survey must have been worth its cost; and if, as Mr. Ross anticipated, the next settlement can be made, without any inquiry, by the District Officer, by merely increasing the demand, part of the cost incurred in 1884-85 will really be debitable to it. The Board of Revenue said that Mr. Ross's assessments must either be accepted *en bloc* as the awards of an officer of special local knowledge and familiar acquaintance with the people and their villages, or they must be widely rejected, and the whole work of assessment be done over again, but, looking to the heavy rise already obtained, namely, 64·8 per cent., and to the special reasons for leniency already mentioned, the senior member (Mr. Daniell), who had personal acquaintance with the district, and who had himself made the previous settlement, would not recommend any alteration or revision of Mr. Ross's work. But the Board did not recommend confirmation of the assessments for a longer period than twenty years.

In a long Resolution, reviewing the Settlement Report and the remarks which had been made on it, the Local Government came to the conclusion that the sum assessed amounted to 45 per cent. of the "recorded rentals." But they noted that Mr. Ross, instead of giving effect to the orders of Government which allowed a reduction of 25 per cent on the revenue assessed

on lands in the cultivation of proprietors, had found it more convenient in such cases to assess below the full 50 per cent ; and they said that as the area held by proprietors was about one-fifth of the total cultivation, a reduction of one-fourth in the land revenue assessed on it would amount to a reduction of about one-fifth on the total assessment, and that Mr. Ross's method produced about the same result as the more regular process would have done, and the Government said—

“When the hypothetical character of a large proportion of the recorded assets is taken into consideration, and allowance is made for their special liability to fluctuate from year to year, it does not seem probable that it would have been safe to demand a higher revenue, even if the severity of the enhancement” did not furnish another sufficient reason for moderation

“The Lieutenant-Governor desires to acknowledge the care and judgment with which Mr. Ross has carried out the work entrusted to him.” “After making necessary deductions on account of proprietary cultivation, and of the precarious character in some tracts of the agricultural profits, the revenue demand amounts to about a half of the available assets, and is light to the people, without being unfair to the State.” “The period for which the present settlement has been proposed is 20 years, and, in consideration of the very backward character of the greater part of the district, and of the considerable immediate development of agricultural wealth which may be expected from the conversion of grain into cash rents, and the improvements and extension of cultivation, it does not appear just to the State, or necessary in the interests of the proprietors, to fix a longer term. The Lieutenant-Governor is (therefore pleased to confirm it”(?) “till June 30th, 1906.”

When the Settlement Report and the Resolution of the Local Government reached the Government of India, it was recorded that the Governor-General in Council was disposed to agree in the view that the new assessment was a lenient one ; but, having regard to the exceptional local knowledge possessed by the Settlement Officer, and to the fact that the increase on the old demand amounted to 64·8 per cent., the settlement was confirmed as had been recommended, for 20 years from 1st July 1886. The Government of India noted that the assessment of *Sál* forests in the possession of the proprietors of revenue-paying estates had been fixed at a very small fraction of their estimated annual value at the lowest computation, and that no conditions appeared to have been imposed with the object of securing the maintenance of these forests ; and they said,

“The question of the preservation of private forests has recently been under the consideration of the Government of India, and the suggestion has been made that, in order to prevent, in the public interests, the reckless exhaustion of such forests, the Government revenue should be assessed at full rates annually on the actual outturn, or, if fixed for a series of years, should be based (at lower rates) on a working plan, prescribing the outturn for a definite number of

years, which the land owner should be required to accept. The Government of India presumes that in the Dún the necessity does not exist for special provision for the protection of private forests as such ; but should any measures of protection be deemed necessary, these suggestions are commended to the consideration of the Local Government."

The change of views since *Sál* forest was considered by Government to be an incumbrance of the ground to be cleared away as quickly as possible, which is disclosed in the above quotation, is very remarkable ; but it is undoubtedly good for the Dún that it has come about.

C. W. HOPE.

ART. XII.—ON CRITICISM.

THE famous saying, that critics are people who have failed in art, turns out, on a little careful examination, to mean either too little or too much, according as we please that it should be viewed.

If it be taken as implying that proved incapacity for production is an indispensable qualification for the office of a critic, the view is too wide. As truly might it be said that Judges are people who have failed at the Bar. Lessing, St. Beuve, Matthew Arnold, and many others, could be cited in refutation.

If, on the other hand, the meaning of the epigram be interpreted more narrowly, as merely stating the essential difference between synthesis and analysis, that is a truth that much resembles a truism. Of course, we must not call on the critic to be for ever showing that he can do better work than the work which he is judging. Criticism and production are distinct functions, of which the former has been devised for the express purpose of advising the public as to its choice of books to be studied or avoided. To confine that duty exclusively to persons who had distinguished themselves in production would be to preach "Art for Art" in its very worst form. The only serious question can be, whether the office of the critic be, or be not, a responsible one, requiring to be exercised on certain principles and under certain rules.

So far as the criticism of France and Germany goes, the matter, may be, calls for no discussion: the accepted critics of those countries having reduced their practice to something like fixed laws. But, really, when we turn to the critics of our own country, we might think the question still open.

It is our most distinguished reviewers who, in the matter of books at least, have been most noticeable as blind leaders. The *Monthly Review* of the last century, if not exactly in the circle of distinction, was yet the best adviser of British readers a hundred years ago. This was what the *Monthly* thought of Burns in 1788:—He was a "humble bard;" and his "simple strains, artless and unadorned, seemed to flow without effort from the native feelings of the heart." But the reviewer was concerned to notice that much of the contents of the volume was disfigured by dialect: "We much regret that these poems are written, in some measure, in an unknown tongue."

The discovery of the original MSS. has since shown that this estimate was not only inadequate, but incorrect. Burns was a most painstaking and laborious writer, and none of his

poetry was so highly laboured as that in the Northern dialect ; the pieces written in what he meant for English showing, for some reason which can only be conjectured, much less appearance of care.

The same *Review*, perhaps the same reviewer, took in hand an examination of the *Lyrical Ballads* of Wordsworth and Coleridge, in 1799, a few months after their original appearance. Taking no account of the doctrines announced in the book, the critic could fairly say that "he was extremely entertained with the fancy, the facility, and (in general) with the sentiments of these pieces ;" but he hardly regarded them as poetry. . . . In particular *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* "is the strangest story of a cock and bull : " another work from the same hand (*sic*) would be welcomed if "written on more elevated subjects, and in a more cheerful disposition." The critic did not perceive that two men's work was blended in the volume ; but he instinctively preferred the part attributed to Wordsworth—if he could only have had it in another style—a style that was not Wordsworthian. Nearly twenty years later, the *Monthly* broke a lance with Coleridge, riding in his own armour. *Christabel*, the critic could not away with : "We hereby declare, to all whom it may concern, that it is not even bombastic verse, only bombastic prose, and a precious production." The only thing the critic can abide is *The Pains of Sleep* ; and even here he is far from "the least approving the spirit."

Next comes the famous old *Edinburgh*, worked by Sydney Smith, Brougham, and Jeffrey. These young lions spared no one. On Southey, indeed, they are generally just ; bearing testimony to his "amiable mind, cultivated fancy, and perverted taste." But, when they approach more stately prey, they are puzzled. Of Byron it is blankly observed that "the poesy of this young lord is of the class which neither gods nor men are said to permit. . . . His effusions are spread over a dead flat, and can no more get above or below the lead, than if they were so much stagnant water." The saying of Johnson about the respect due to noble authors is quoted ; with this addition, that it is solely on account of his rank that his Lordship's work is reviewed, and on condition that "he do forthwith abandon poetry, and turn his talents to better account." On the other hand, the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake* almost paralyse the *Edinburgh Reviewers* with what we must describe by an untranslatable French word, and call "*engouement*." Wordsworth ultimately became something like a favourite with Jeffrey ; who, however, pronounced sentence on the "*Excursion*," and who, in a notice of Burns, in 1809, contrasted the Lakist most unfavourably with his brother Revenue Officer. Readers of Burns were assured

that they might look long enough among his nervous and manly lines before they would find any "stuff about dancing daffodils. Let them think with what infinite contempt the powerful mind of Burns would have perused the story of Alice Fell, etc., etc. Let them contrast the fantastical personages of hysterical school-master, and sententious leach-gatherers with the authentic rustics of the *Cottars' Saturday Night*." And so on.

What, at the same time, was the estimate of the worthy Laird of Ashestiel? "Mr. Scott has manifestly outstripped all his competitors and stands already upon a height to which no other writer has attained in the memory of any one now alive." And this—be it remembered—only applies to Scott as the writer of two or three tales in verse; *Waverley* was not published till four years later, and was then by no means certainly attributed to Scott.

The review of the *Lady of the Lake* (published in the Autumn of 1810) had been preceded by a less acceptable notice of *Marmion*, for which it was perhaps intended to make amends, now that Scott was going to have a Review of his own. It is nevertheless remarkable that so accomplished, and—even then—so leading, a critic as Jeffrey should have ventured—with whatever motive—to exalt Scott at the expense of Wordsworth, whom he must, in later years, have come to regard as a much truer and greater poet.

The first number of the *Quarterly* appeared in February, 1809, and its appearance soon led to some fresh display of short-sight on the part of the most distinguished critics. The *Quarterly's* essay on *Endymion* came out in the Spring of 1818, preceded by one at least equally blind and scornful in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, which had been started, on Tory tomahawk lines, the year before. The *Blackwood* article was, if anything, more contemptuous and less careful than that in the *Quarterly*; but the latter has received all the blame; and has been so often taxed—and by such great writers—with having caused the poet's death, that the case has, indeed, become classical, and one is almost afraid of including it in one's list of damnatory instances. The *Quarterly* article is now known to have been from the pen of Croker; that in *Blackwood* has been ascribed to Lockhart, and even said to have been inspired by Scott—which one would fain hope to be a mistake.

Whoever were the inspirers, or composers, of this celebrated piece, there was but little ground for objecting to the reasons for which Croker had condemned *Endymion*. In 1819 Shelley, whose passionate sympathy with Keats was afterwards to find deathless expression in *Adonais*, recorded an almost equally adverse opinion.

"Much praise is due to me for having read it, the author's intention appearing to be that no person should possibly get to the end of it." This was scarcely less strong than the *Quarterly's* declamation :—

"We have made efforts almost as superhuman as the story itself to get through it." And, in a letter to Gifford, Shelley pronounced the *Endymion* to be "considerably defective" and perhaps deserving of "all the censure that the Review recorded against it." The work appeared to him (Shelley) to be "replenished with bad taste." If about fifty pages of extracts could have been published, he might have been led to an undue admiration of the poet, "of which there is now no danger."

So far, there is not much to choose between the friendly and the unfriendly critic. Nay, Keats himself, in his manly way, pronounced the sentence of his imperfect work. "His own criticism," he declared, had given him "more pain, without comparison, beyond what *Blackwood* or the *Quarterly* could possibly inflict," and he proceeded to produce work in which the faults of *Endymion* were avoided. But, even supposing that the rudeness of the attack did Keats nothing but good, yet what could be the use of the coarse manners and language, and how small now appears the acumen of even these great critics. The point which they quite neglected, and the neglect of which vitiated all their criticism, was deftly noted by Shelley. The *contemptuous tone*, and the *omission of due praise* made all the difference between their bungling butchery and the neat dissection of the brother-bard. "The promise of ultimate excellence," most truly added Shelley, "is such as has rarely been afforded:" and he proceeded to give instances in support of an opinion now become a commonplace of competent criticism.

Those days are,—indeed,—past. The old *Quarterlies* continue to contain grand articles on literary subjects, no less than on history and art. But their practice of only appearing once in three months, added to the massive character of the essays which they produce, leaves something to be desired by the student anxious to keep up his studies, as also by the man and woman of society in search of dinner-table or tea-table conversation. The larger monthlies distribute an impartial hospitality among Dukes, dilettanti, and day labourers, but do not offer us much pure literature. Criticism is rarely provided even by the Magazines: the authority of *Ebony* as a critic is gone; *ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*. What criticism we have now, is uttered in the weekly and daily newspapers; and the wonders occasionally discovered by the writers there are not remembered much longer than their scathing sarcasm, and their flowers of speech.

The method of the newspaper reviewers is sometimes conscientious, well informed, and therefore instructive. But often it has none of these merits, and reminds us of nothing more important than bad conjuring. A certain quantity of isolated quotations lie about, like boughs broken from their stem: on these the writer performs his feats of legerdemain, or dances and tramples upon them, his feet shod with clumsy epigrams. Not a word of the author's subject or undertaking; no estimate of the manner in which he has executed it; not the remotest reference to anything true or useful that he may have said; no attempt to administer sympathetic censure that might do him good in a second edition, or in a newer enterprise. The author who goes to such advisers may, perhaps, know no better: he may cry with the Psalmist *Corripiet me justus in Misericordiâ*: "Let the righteous smite me, it shall be a kindness" (as the Revised English has it). But he will soon feel inclined to finish the text according to the Prayer-book version, and to add, "Let not their precious balms break my head." Thus a source of amendment and of better work which is always at the disposal of Continental writers, in the best kind and in unstinted amount, has to be doled out to the British author from rare and sometimes broken cisterns: and he has to make the best of trade-notice and scrappy comments, of which the most favorable character that can be given is, that some of them are workmanlike and well meaning, if not all.

Our modern criticism is, moreover, more "up to date" than that of Jeffrey's time. Is it more correct, or more honest? The reception accorded, on their first appearance, to such men as Burns, Wordsworth, Keats, Byron and Shelley ought, at least, to make critics modest in estimating their own taste and powers of prediction. At the very least, it must tend to caution the public against expecting too much of criticism, or trusting its verdicts too implicitly. The public has but little leisure, and still less capacity, for a serious inquiry into the claims of works produced for its consumption. It therefore turns, naturally enough, to recognised organs of the Press, which it believes to contain the advice of experts. A few of such periodicals may be trusted: the practice of printing the names of the writers at one end of the articles or another gives a guarantee of responsibility, and enables the reader to decide whether or no he will consult the opinion of one who, whatever else he may do, tells us who he is. But the practice of the anonymous journals—and they are still the more numerous—is too often secret and suspicious. There is but too much reason to fear that the system is fatal to genuine "criticism;" meaning the honest and competent examination of work, whether

musical, pictorial or literary. In respect of books, especially, one fears that they are sent out to young friends of the editor who may be willing to pass a perfunctory sentence upon them for a very feeble consideration. Anxious to swell the receipts by selling the books, these gentlemen avoid cutting the leaves, so that they miss even the slight advantage of "smelling the paper knife." Then, there are grudges to be worked off, envies to be gratified; or the reviewer has secreted a fund of smartness which he is anxious to vent, or he has manufactured a style which he wants to use as a parachute to break the fall of his own intellect. Matters may not be as bad as in the old "Ebony" days; but, at least, there were then critics who called themselves Wilson, Lockhart and Southey. It sometimes seems as if we, of the current epoch, had the malice and self-reliance of these men without their intelligence or vigour. Were a great genius like Burns or Byron to appear now, it is very doubtful whether he would be recognised (log-rolling apart). Aloes and myrrh would be offered him rather than frankincense and gold; or perhaps a pillory and a basket of stale eggs would be set up, in lieu of even that bitter epiphany.

It is quite intelligible, however little flattering to human nature, that the readers of newspapers may like to see an author misrepresented and ridiculed. The flaying of Marsyas was viewed with concern—if we are to believe the poets—by Mœnads and Fauns: but then the poets may be giving interested testimony about the matter. On the other hand, it is certain that the most refined of the Romans witnessed with enjoyment the tearing to pieces by wild beasts of the primitive Christians. And so, it may be, when "Master Johnny" was told that his writings could not be read, and recommended to go back to the apothecary's shop, people who heard of him for the first time experienced an ignoble pleasure. But it would be a libel on civilisation to plead seriously that such joys were deserving of consideration at the hands of those whose business it is to take stock of Art and its productions. By all means let the wares offered to the public be carefully watched, tested, and described. But the young men who read new books, without cutting the leaves, and write about them with no purpose but to display their own smartness, discharge none of these duties: they do not watch, they do not test, and they are neither willing nor able to describe carefully.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. XIII.—SOME NEGLECTED INDIAN RECORDS.

BETWEEN the historical enquirer and the State, as the custodian of one of the most important sources of the material for history, there exists an immemorial feud. The extent to which it is capable of mitigation in any particular instance, depends largely upon the state of the public archives themselves; but, at the best, perfect harmony can hardly be hoped for. Liberty of search, for any but the privileged official, necessarily presupposes the separation of documents which policy requires should be kept secret, from those which may be safely divulged. Where such a separation has been effected, all that is needed to make a working understanding of some sort possible, is the requisite measure of sympathy with historical research on the part of the State Departments concerned. But even where both these conditions exist, abundant margin for difference must almost inevitably remain. On the one hand, the separation in question, cannot be made once and for all. What it would be mischievous to divulge to-day may be safely published to-morrow; and sometimes even the contrary change may occur. Periodical re-classification thus becomes necessary, if neither the interests of the State are ever to suffer, nor the truth is ever to be needlessly withheld. But such a reclassification can be made only by men who at once are experts and enjoy the confidence of the State; and the men who combine both these qualifications have rarely leisure for the task.

Then, again, the historical enquirer, whose standpoint is that of truth, and the statesman, whose standpoint is that of policy, can hardly be expected to draw the line between the two classes of documents exactly in the same place. Thus, even in the best regulated archives, from the one cause there must generally be large masses of documents which might properly be placed at the disposal of the enquirer, but are unavoidably withheld, and, from the other, there must always be many which the enquirer will be apt to think are wrongly withheld.

In England, sympathy with research on the part of the State, has never been very strong. It is not until within a comparatively recent period, that any systematic attempt has been made to render the contents of the State archives available for the purposes of the student, and anything like the loving care and liberality which has made Venice a treasure-house of historical material for the rest of Europe, and which the rest of Europe has but ill requitted by its comparative neglect of the Italian language, is hardly to be hoped for.

In India, it is to be feared, partly owing to the absence of a strong literary class, interested in such enquiries and capable of pressing its claims upon the Government, and partly owing to other special causes which need not be detailed, the case is a great deal worse. There is, probably, not one of the great departments in which the simple separation to which we have referred, has ever been regularly carried out, at all events in the case of vernacular documents, though, in recent years, much has been done, with excellent results, towards an examination of certain classes of old documents by experts, notably by the able and indefatigable Director of Records with the Government of India.

That is to say, though the bulk of the records in most departments are more or less accessible to every petty clerk, documents once classed as secret commonly remain so classed, through mere *vis inertiae*, combined with official exclusiveness, to the end of the chapter. Thus the bulk of the records that are likely to contain anything of real historical interest, are sealed against the eyes of all but privileged officials, who cannot be expected to have eyes, in the historic sense, or the time to use them, till they are finally devoured by white ants, or are sold by tons for waste paper.

The irreparable loss of valuable materials which must have already taken place, from time to time, in the latter way, is a subject upon which, for the sake of his own peace of mind, the enquirer who has his heart in his work, will instinctively shrink from dwelling. The destruction of the earliest records of the British Settlement in Calcutta by the great cyclone of 1737, and again at the capture of Calcutta in 1756, are calamities which, as they could not have been prevented by ordinary human foresight, will excite only his regret. But feelings of a more bitter kind must rise in his breast when he reads Colonel Yule's list of the heads under which the 500 tons (!) of papers at the India Office, destroyed under the orders of the Secretary of State in 1859, were classified, or when he thinks of the periodical mutilation and sale of public documents in India under a standing order, and reflects how little competent the Committees which direct the operation are likely to be to pass judgment on their value from any but a narrow official standpoint, and how very imperfectly, in most cases, they can even be acquainted with their contents.

But it is not in obedience to official orders only that the work of natural decay, or unpreventable accident, is supplemented by that of human agency. As the Rev. Mr. Long years ago remarked, the pilferings of duffers and the sin of borrowing without returning are perpetual causes of loss; and

to these may be added the carelessness with which documents are removed, often in open carts, from place to place.

In a letter which he, sometime ago, addressed to the late Colonel Yule, but which, owing to the death of that gentleman, was never despatched to its destination, Babu Gour Das Bysack, a gentleman well-known for his researches into the history of Old Calcutta, writes: "In carting away massive records, especially in loose forms, from old to new repositories, much irreparable loss often takes place. It is apprehended that, in carting away the heaps of the old Supreme Court records, and of the still earlier Mayor's Court, to the new High Court buildings, losses or mutilation . . . had taken place."

Instances of the injury done to the cause of investigation by the state of the public records in this country, and by the restrictions which it entails, might be freely cited. When, many years since, so distinguished a traveller and savant as the late Sir Richard (then Lieut.) Burton, applied to the Bombay Foreign Office for permission to examine the journals of another traveller, an officer of the Indian Navy, who had been despatched on a mission to Central Asia long years before, and had not since been heard of, he was simply assured that no such papers existed. But permission to search for them was refused him. There were strong reasons for believing that the papers did exist, and they possibly may exist still, but the point is that Lieut. Burton was not allowed to search, and that the condition of the archives in the Foreign Department was alone enough to render the assurance given him wholly inconclusive.

To come down to our own time, when, not very long ago, an application was made to the Board of Revenue in Calcutta, on behalf of Babu Gaur Das Bysack, for permission to examine the old records of the Board for the purposes of his enquiries into local history, the application was refused. The grounds of the refusal will be seen from the following letter from the Secretary of the Board:—

BOARD OF REVENUE, L. P.

2, Bankshall Street,

10th July 1890.

MY DEAR ———,

In your letter of the 30th June, you sent me a note to you from Babu Guru Dass Bysack with reference to his desire to have access to the Board's records for the purpose of the historical enquiries in which he is engaged. I have therefore looked carefully into the matter and laid it before Mr. Halliday. But I am afraid that the Babu's request cannot be complied with. The papers he wants to see are very old, dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries, and are in the vernaculars. They have always been regarded as *confidential* in this Office and have been kept under special custody, and the Board would not feel justified in treating them otherwise. Nor have they the establishment—nor have the officers the time—to superintend the Babu's proceedings, and examine minutely the extracts he purposes to make from these records.

It is not the practice in offices to allow papers of a confidential character to be examined by outsiders, and the Board would prefer not to introduce any innovation in this respect. . . .

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) C. E. BUCKLAND,

Now, though it is barely possible that there may, be among the records in question, an occasional document which is really and properly of a confidential character, and not merely classed as such from a remote date, we have no hesitation in pronouncing secrecy in respect of the revenue papers of the 17th and 18th centuries *in the mass*, to be the veriest affectation. A more perfect illustration of the working of the rule, once confidential, always confidential, it would, in short, be impossible to conceive.

There is no question, it should be insisted, of either the sincerity or the qualifications of Babu Gaur Das Bysack. The papers which he has already published are sufficient earnest of his purpose in wishing to examine these records, which, it may be safely said, no European is competent to examine, and the only reason for refusing to allow him to examine them, is that they have "*always* been treated as confidential," and that the Board would "prefer not to introduce any innovation."

No blame, it need hardly be said, attaches to the Members of the Board who directed Mr. Buckland to make this reply to the application, unless it be the blame of not seizing the opportunity to initiate an important reform. The fact is, there is a real difficulty which may possibly justify the rule appealed to, though for the existence of the difficulty itself, there can be no justification whatever. The difficulty arises from the fact that the papers in question have never been examined and classified; and if, as Mr. Buckland says, no doubt with perfect reason, there is no one in the office with time to superintend Babu Gaur Das Bysack while he examines them, or to check the extracts he may desire to make from them, *à fortiori*, it may be inferred, there is no one in the office with the time to examine and classify them. So, unless the Board can be brought to recognise the fact that it has a duty to perform as regards these papers, beyond that of merely safeguarding them, they must remain absolutely useless to anyone on earth, till they rot, or fall a prey to some of the other accidents to which we have referred, or are deliberately destroyed as an encumbrance.

No one, probably, in the Board or out of it, has any but the most general knowledge of what these papers contain, or are likely to contain. We doubt whether it would be even in the power of the Board to specify a single one of them, that is properly confidential, and to show, by a description of its contents, that it is so. Still less can anyone in the Board say that these papers contain nothing which might be beneficially made public. And this, in itself, strikes us as being—we will not say a scan-

dalous state of things, but—a state of things which is less than creditable to an enlightened administration.

We do not suppose that these records contain anything the knowledge of which would revolutionise Indian society. In all probability there is nothing to be learnt from them which would materially help the Government either to solve the Currency problem, or to provide against the next Famine. But it is at least highly probable that they contain matter of antiquarian interest, and it is morally certain that they must contain matter of very considerable economic importance.

Even if our knowledge of the early history of the Settlement in Bengal were much more copious and exact than it is, these probabilities would, in themselves, amply justify a systematic examination of the records in question, and of any other masses of old official documents, of which there are many in the vernacular, that have long lain unexamined. But, as a matter of fact, our knowledge of this history is of the most fragmentary character, and, such as it is, is based mainly upon English records only.

There are long periods, covering most important events, which are little better than absolute blanks. Thus, to draw from a memorandum on the subject by Babu Gaur Das Bysack: though the English first obtained their Charter to trade in India in 1600, the early history of their trade and settlement in the Bay of Bengal has as yet been traced back only as far as the period between 1630 and 1650, and the earliest mention of Calcutta by name is contained in a document in the East India Office, of the 16th August 1688.

Again, the first known mention of the name of Calcutta is in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, where it appears as one of the Mahals of Sarkar Satgong, along with two other villages, Barbakpur and Bakua. But the presumption is that these villages must have existed long before the time of Akbar, and Babu Gaur Das Bysack thinks it not improbable that anterior records still exist which would clear up many doubtful points regarding them, and throw a great deal of light on their previous history. The tables of Sarkars in the *Ain*, comprising the results of Todar Mull's settlement, were compiled from *ganun-goi* papers of an earlier date, and he suggests—though this, it strikes us, is almost too much to hope—that these papers may be found among the vernacular records in the custody of the Board, or in the Collectorate of Calcutta, or of the 24-Perganahs, or of Murshidabad. Or, he says, “if a clue to the names of the zemindars from whom the East India Company obtained the different component villages of the city be got hold of, the records in the possession of their representatives may be examined for information.”

In the subsequent period, again, that it is to say, the period between the date of Todar Mull's assessment and that of Ferok Shere's grant in 1717, there is a gap of more than a century and a quarter in the history of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, and even of the names of the villages we get no mention till we come to Mir Jaffir's time. This hiatus could, not improbably, be partly filled up from the old chittas, survey papers, and rent rolls in the possession of the Board.

There are numerous instances in which specific documents are known to be missing from the Library of the India Office. Such are the Firman of the Emperor Shah Jehan of the 2nd February 1634, giving the English permission to trade in Bengal; the Letters Patent of Azim-us-Shan granting them liberty to purchase the villages of Calcutta, Sutanutty and Govindpur from the Zemindars, and probably, the original grants of the 24-Perganahs and the 55 villages—Panchannogram—constituting the suburbs of Calcutta.

These and other important missing documents, or copies of them, or extracts from them, may still be buried in the archives of one or other of the Government Departments in Calcutta, or Madras, or in one of the Collectorates mentioned.

In the chapter on the Documentary Memoirs of Job Charnock, in the 2nd volume of Hedge's Diary, the late Colonel Yule laments the absence of any record of Charnock's relations with the Nawab at the time of his retirement to Hidgelee and afterwards, or of his second sojourn in Calcutta (at Sutanutty), or of his doings for a period of three years after his second return to Calcutta in 1690.

Referring to these and other missing papers and breaks in our information, Babu Gaur Das Bysack, in the letter to Colonel Yule already referred to, says: "It is my belief that, if a regular haul-down be made in our Sadr Board of Revenue and in the Calcutta Collectorate and the like places in Madras, of old records, the nether limit being that of the date of the last negotiation of the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, and the upper as far as the obscurest bit of paper of the oldest date that could be found, some document or other would be forthcoming to fill the gaps as yet interrupting the connected history of, in various aspects, the most interesting period of the foundation of Calcutta. There is a class of papers of an humble character usually dealt with by common accountants,—the chittas, or Survey papers, and jamabandies, or rent rolls, and karchas, or ledgers of rent collection, copies of pattas and kabuliyats relating to the three towns, and others in their neighbourhood, which gradually entered into the bounds of Calcutta until its boundaries became legally fixed. These and cognate papers in the Ben

galee language are to be found in the Calcutta or 24-Parganahs Collectorate, and those of very old date, in Persian or Urdu, perhaps, in the Khalsa records of Murshidabad, which, with other valuable papers, were brought and deposited in the Board after the accession of the Dewany of the East India Company. The papers I have described are of a nature which give most desirable information respecting the topography and financial statistics of the old villages that constitute Calcutta. The history, in some respects, of almost every plot of land, can be traced backwards and forwards in a connected link by the chittas if their successive files can be found. The castes and the manner in which they were financially dealt with, are set forth in the clearest manner in other documents."

It may be that neither these papers, nor any others among the archives of Government, in the Board or elsewhere, would yield all, or most of the information thus indicated. On the other hand, it is probable enough that they would yield much other information of equal or greater value. It would, perhaps, be unreasonable to expect the Board of Revenue to undertake a minute examination, or a detailed classification, of masses of papers, the great bulk of which are probably useless. But this is not required. What is required, and what may reasonably be expected of it, is that it should take the one step necessary to render their examination by outsiders permissible, that is, that it should separate from the rest the documents which are still of a really confidential character, and not merely classed as such, and that, subject to reasonable rules, it should allow qualified enquirers who are willing to undertake the labour, to examine, and, if necessary, make copies of, or extracts from, those which are not confidential; and a similar course might, with advantage, be adopted in every Government Department which possesses old records.

THE QUARTER.

IF for nothing else, the Government deserves unbounded credit for the success of its efforts, during the past ten weeks, to preserve a cheerful countenance under unusually trying circumstances.

We refer especially to the second stage of the Jury question, and to the work of the Legislative Session, which, paradoxical as the statement may seem, has been at once, singularly interesting, and, as far as completed results go, singularly barren. The fact is, an unexpected change of circumstances has imposed upon the Government the necessity of a complete re-orientation. All the really important measures of the Session, including the Land Acquisition Act Amendment Bill, introduced, under the auspices of Mr. Bliss, last year; the Habitual Offenders' Bill; the Small Cause Courts Bill, and, in the Bengal Council, the Mofussil Municipalities Bill, have been hung up, some of them after a more or less extensive re-adaptation to the altered conditions of the hour; some of them, it may be, for a more convenient season.

But no one not in the secret would for a moment suspect that the laudable anxiety of Sir Philip Hutchins to be guided by public opinion in dealing with the criminal classes, or the refreshing candour of Mr. Woodburn's admission that the most vital feature of last year's Land Acquisition Bill is quite unnecessary, to be merely a graceful mode of obeisance to the inevitable. —As for the Bengal Municipalities Bill, Sir Charles Elliott was in the happy position of being able to say that, in condemning the most important provision of the original Bill, the Secretary of State had merely done what he himself had already made up his mind to do on similar grounds. But we shall return to these matters later on.

A Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, of which the following is the essential portion, appointing a Commission to enquire into and report upon the system of Trial by Jury in Bengal, was published in the *Gazette of India* of the 25th ultimo:—

RESOLUTION.

In a letter, No. 35J, dated the 2nd January 1893, addressed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to the Government of India, His Honour, with reference to the Notification issued by him on the 20th October 1892, withdrawing certain offences from trial by jury in eight districts of Bengal, wrote that he desired—"as far as possible, to reconsider the question from the new light thrown on it by the fact

"that the distress and dissatisfaction caused by the partial removal of what is valued as an important privilege had been so great and so much beyond his expectation ;" and, after making various suggestions for the modification of the provisions relating to Juries in the Criminal Procedure Code, His Honour concluded his letter in the words quoted below—

"A suggestion has been made to the Lieutenant-Governor that a Commission might be appointed with instructions to consider such questions as those indicated above, and to report to Government on the feasibility of any scheme which would be generally acceptable, and yet would safeguard the Government from a recurrence of the scandalous verdicts and grievous failures of justice to which attention has been drawn in the published correspondence. There are obvious difficulties attending the appointment of such a Commission, but it seems not impossible that it might result in the formulation of an authoritative report which the Government could accept, and if such a result could be obtained, it would be more satisfactory and would tend more to re-assure the public mind than a decision arrived at by Government alone. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, thinks it his duty to submit this suggestion for the consideration of the Government of India, and to say that, should they accept it, nothing will be wanting on his part to afford the Commission such assistance as is in the power of the Bengal Government."

The suggestion thus made seemed to the Government of India well worthy of consideration, not only for the reasons which had been stated by His Honour, but also because the Governor-General in Council was aware that the residents of the Jury districts had made it a special ground of complaint, that the Notification of the 20th October had been issued without their having been allowed an opportunity of showing cause against it. The following paragraph was, therefore, added to the Despatch of the 4th January, transmitting to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, a memorial adopted by the public meeting held at the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 20th December, in which the memorialists protested against the Notification of the 20th October 1892:—

"Since the above paragraphs were written, we have received from His Honour a suggestion that if an enquiry is to be made into these points, it might be conveniently entrusted to a Special Commission. Sir Charles Elliott's proposal, provided the scope of the enquiry is carefully defined, seems to us well worthy of consideration. We shall, however, take no further steps until we have heard from Your Lordship in reply to this and our former Despatch."

2. The Governor-General in Council has now received from the Secretary of State an intimation that the course above proposed approves itself to Her Majesty's Government, and is in a position to issue orders on the subject. His Excellency in Council has decided to appoint a Commission, consisting of the following gentlemen:—

The Honourable Mr. Prinsep, President.

Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohun Tagore, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I.

The Honourable Sir Griffith Evans, K.C.I.E.

Sir Romesh Chunder Mitter, Kt.

Mr. C. A. Wilkins, Indian Civil Service, District and Sessions Judge.

The services of Mr. H. C. Streatfield, of the Indian Civil Service, will be placed at the disposal of the Commission as Secretary.

3. The Commission will be instructed—

(1) To consider the classes of offences triable by jury in the several districts of Bengal in which the system of trial by jury has been intro-

duced, and to report whether any, and, if so, what changes in the classification which now obtains are desirable :

(2) To consider and report whether any, and if so, what modifications of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code relating to the trial of offences triable by jury before Courts of Session, are desirable for the purpose of preventing miscarriage of justice.

4. The whole of the correspondence which has recently passed on the subject of the working of the Jury system in Bengal, and which is read in the preamble of this Resolution, as well as reports subsequently received from the Madras and Bombay Governments on the same subject, will be placed at the disposal of the Commission by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, and the High Court of Calcutta will be requested to afford the Commissioners all the assistance in their power in the prosecution of their enquiries.

It will be left to the Commission to decide whether or not they should take oral evidence.

5. The Governor-General in Council is desirous that the Commission's report should be submitted with as little delay as possible, and therefore considers it advisable that their sittings should commence at once, and be as continuous as they can arrange without inconvenience.

Into the secret history of this Resolution, the appearance of which was preceded by the publication of an official *communiqué*, announcing that it had been decided to appoint a Commission, it is neither necessary nor desirable to enquire too closely. It may be accepted as certain that the arrangement announced in it was not arrived at exactly in the way which its terms might seem to indicate, or without much discussion between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the one hand, and the Governments of India and Bengal on the other, which it would have been inconvenient and contrary to custom to disclose.

Rumour has it that there was absolute refusal to sanction the Notification on the one side, and a threat, or threats, of resignation on the other : but the probability is that, though there was a serious difference between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, matters did not reach this extreme stage on either side. In all probability, the Secretary of State gave the Government of India distinctly to understand that, on the evidence which had been placed before him, it would be impossible for him to uphold the Notification. Nor is it easy to see how he could have adopted any other course, for, far from being sufficient to justify the action of the Government, the evidence in question was such as to point to a conclusion diametrically opposed to that arrived at by it.

The Government may have, and probably has, a stronger case than appears on the surface, but if it has such a case, it is based largely upon evidence of a kind which is not presentable to the world ; and the Secretary of State is keenly conscious of what the Government seems unaccountably to have forgotten, that, in a matter in which he is responsible to Parliament, evidence

which is not presentable is, for justificatory purposes, as good as no evidence at all.

That, had the Secretary of State been more compliant, the proposal for a Commission would never have been heard of, is likely enough. But it does not follow that Sir Charles Elliott is not perfectly sincere in his profession of a desire that the matter should be reconsidered "in the new light thrown on it by the distress and dissatisfaction caused by" the Notification.

But let us leave the history of the Resolution and examine its substance. It is impossible to read the document attentively without being struck by a curious discrepancy between the premises and the conclusion. What Sir Charles Elliott proposes is a *reconsideration* of the question in the light of certain new evidence. It is this proposal which the Governor-General in Council accepts and recommends to the Secretary of State, and to which the Secretary of State, in his turn, gives his assent. But, when we turn to the terms of the reference, we find that what the Commission are instructed to do is, not to *reconsider* the question with which Sir Charles Elliott dealt in his Notification, but to *consider* a widely different question. The question dealt with by Sir Charles Elliott in his Notification was, whether a particular alteration in the classification of offences triable with, and without a jury respectively, then obtaining in the jury districts, was advisable or not. The question on which the Commission are instructed to enquire and report is—whether any, and if so, what alteration in the classification of offences now obtaining in these districts is desirable. Though these two questions overlap one another, not only are they not identical, the difference between them is enormous, and concerns matters of the utmost moment to either side. To analyse them in detail and point out exactly what this difference is, would carry us beyond the limits of space at our disposal. All we need say is, that it is much to be deplored that, after having proposed and justified one course, the Government should, without explanation, adopt another and widely different course; and that such a change of front is especially to be deplored where, as in the present instance, it is calculated to lend colour to the suspicion that the ostensible reasons for its original proposal were not the real reasons. Beside this consideration, it is a matter of small moment that an important State paper should be so hopelessly inconsequential as that under notice.

The ambiguity of the terms of the reference seems to have attracted attention in England. For, a few days after the publication of the Resolution, a question was put to the Under-Secretary of State in the House of Commons, the precise nature of which has not been reported, but which drew from him the declaration that the Commission "was empowered to deal with

the whole question, including the power to report that the Notification of Sir Charles Elliott be rescinded."

The composition of the Commission has been challenged by the Native press, mainly with reference to the selection of Mr. Prinsep to represent the High Court, on the ground that, in his Minute on the Jury question, he had pronounced against the system. An examination of his Minute, however, shows that, though he commented freely on the shortcomings of the system from a judicial point of view, which no one denies, he did not advocate its abolition, or any re-classification of the offences triable under it.

The Commission, whose sittings are private, held its first meeting on the 6th instant and is expected to submit its Report in a few days.

Returning to the Legislative business of the past three months, the most important of the measures that have occupied the attention of the Viceregal Council is probably the Habitual Offenders' Bill, which was introduced by Sir Philip Hutchins on the 12th January. There has been a growing conviction, for some years past, on the part of the district officials, that the omission from the Criminal Procedure Code of 1882 of the provision which empowered Magistrates to require security from persons of 'notoriously bad livelihood' or 'dangerous characters,' has materially impaired the ability of the police to cope with crime; and it is further felt that the operations of certain classes of criminals have been greatly facilitated, and the difficulty of dealing with them has been correspondingly increased, by the improvement of means of communication in recent years by railways and telegraphs. The main object of the Bill, as explained by Sir Philip Hutchins, is to provide a remedy for this state of things; and it proposes to do this partly by providing for the surveillance of persons judicially proved to be habitual offenders, and by certain modifications in the procedure for their trial and punishment, and partly by re-enacting Section 110 of the Code of 1872, with certain alterations and additions, and by introducing two new provisions, one empowering the Court to substitute police surveillance for imprisonment in the case of persons who have been ordered to give security, but are unable to furnish it, and the other authorising the Magistrate, in certain cases, to make an order of surveillance by the police, instead of giving the accused the option of furnishing security. There is also a provision to provide for the repression of certain offences against property in particular localities, where, owing to a combination of the inhabitants to withhold information, the offenders cannot be detected, by empowering the Magistrate, after due enquiry, and subject to the confirmation of the Com-

missioner, to assess compensation on the residents of the locality generally, exclusive of any persons whom he may find to be beyond suspicion of complicity in the offence.

It may be admitted at once that the grounds urged for wishing to strengthen the hands of the police are both substantial and valid grounds ; while neither to the Sections of the Bill which provide for the surveillance of habitual offenders judicially proved to be such nor to the Section which empowers the Courts to substitute surveillance for imprisonment, can reasonable exception be taken. The provisions of the Bill which are most open to criticism, and which have actually excited very severe criticism, are Section 2, which re-enacts Section 110 of the old Code, with certain important alterations ; Section 3, which empowers the Magistrate to order surveillance, instead of requiring security, in the case of the classes of persons described in Section 2, and the last Section, for dealing with combinations to shield certain classes of offenders in localities that have been notified.

As regards Sections 2 and 3, there would seem to be nothing *per se* unreasonable, or unduly arbitrary, in the powers they would confer. The objection to them depends entirely on the character of the subordinate instruments through whom they would be brought to bear. Those instruments are the police, who would supply both the information on which the Magistrate would act, and the evidence on which the proof of the facts would depend ; and it is impossible for any one who is acquainted with the character and the methods of the police, to doubt that the Sections would place in their hands a practically tremendous power of oppression, which they would not be slow to use.

Section 2 adds mischief to the classes of offences, the commission of which would make the offender liable to be called upon to furnish security, and persons who habitually protect or harbour thieves, or aid in the concealment of stolen property, to the classes of persons from whom security may be demanded, while for the class of persons " of notoriously bad livelihood," or " dangerous characters," included in that category under the old Code, it substitutes persons " of a character so desperate and dangerous as to render " their " being at large without security hazardous to the community." It is claimed that the latter definition is less vague, and less liable to abuse, than the former. It is certainly less vague ; but it is questionable whether it is less liable to abuse. As long as the law allows evidence of reputation, as distinguished from overt acts, to be treated as sufficient proof against an accused person under the Section, it matters little what kind of character has to be proved. It is as easy for a witness who is tutored, to swear

that a man is a desperately dangerous character, as that he is merely a notoriously bad, or a dangerous character; and the police who would suborn the one kind of evidence, would not scruple to suborn the other.

It need hardly be added that the power which it is proposed to confer on the Magistrate by Section 3, would add largely to the terrors of Section 2.

The objection to the last Section of the Bill comes chiefly from the people of Bengal, where, it is contended, combinations of the kind aimed at are unknown, and the extension of the provision is therefore unnecessary. Though, as the Section could be put in force only in the localities to which it might have been specially declared applicable by notification, the objection partakes somewhat of a sentimental character, it is not altogether unreasonable.

Sir Philip Hutchins announced in Council on the 23rd ultimo, that the Bill would not be proceeded with this Session, and, from certain remarks which he made, it seems not improbable that, among other modifications, the Section just referred to will be omitted from it, and made the subject of a separate Bill for the Punjab, from which the demand for the power comes.

The Select Committee on the Bill to amend the Land Acquisition Act of 1870 presented its Report to the Council on the 2nd ultimo. The Bill, it will be remembered, proposed not only to dispense with the assessors, with whose assistance the Collector, under the existing Act, makes his award, but to make the Collector's award final, subject to the right of an aggrieved owner to bring a regular suit in the Civil Court to set it aside. The latter proposal, as might be expected, excited severe criticism; and, on the recommendation of the Select Committee, it has now been decided to abandon it, and to provide, instead, that the Collector shall refer to the Civil Court only when a person dissatisfied with the award asks that it shall be referred, and that the award shall be final in all other cases. This will obviate the inconvenience arising from the provision of the present law which requires a reference, not only in case of disagreement, but in the event of any of the persons interested not appearing before the Collector.

Another important alteration made in the Bill by the Committee is connected with the interpretation of market value. This was defined in the original Bill. But it has been determined to make no express definition, but leave it to the Collector primarily, and ultimately to the Court, to decide what is a fair price. As thus amended, the Bill which has been ordered to be republished, is unquestionably a great improvement on the existing law.

A Bill to amend the Presidency Small Cause Courts Act which

has excited considerable dissatisfaction, not to say alarm, was introduced into the Council by Sir Alexander Miller, on the 12th January. The ground put forward for legislating on the subject is the dissatisfaction which has existed for some time past with the working of the Small Cause Courts. This dissatisfaction is real enough and certainly calls for remedial action. It is felt, however, that the remedy proposed in the Bill would be likely to prove worse than the disease, not, perhaps, in its immediate effect on the interests of suitors, though this would in some respects be unsatisfactory, but in the ulterior consequences which would be likely to follow from it.

"Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes."

The Bill would preserve to the Small Cause Courts their present extended jurisdiction ; but, as a further security against injustice, it would grant a right of appeal to the High Court in cases of the value of Rs. 1,000 and upwards, and at the same time provide that, in such cases, the Judge should take a note of the evidence and record the substance of his judgment. It is felt, however, that to impose this duty on the Judges would hinder materially the work of the Court, and so render it less efficient as a Small Cause Court ; and there is a further apprehension that, when this came to be recognised, advantage would be taken of the fact to set up a separate Court, after the fashion of the Madras City Court, to which, in the fulness of time, it would be found convenient to transfer suits of still higher value, at present triable exclusively by the High Court. The High Court would thus be still further weakened, which may suit the policy of the Government, but is opposed to the interests of the public.

The Bill, against which the Anglo-Indian Defence Association and the Calcutta Trade Association have entered their protests, and which is also opposed by the Chamber of Commerce, further provides that the Chief Judge must be a barrister, and that no one shall be appointed a Small Cause Court Judge who has not five years' standing as a barrister, or as an Advocate, attorney or vakil of an Indian High Court, or as a Subordinate Judge, whereas at present the only restriction is, that at least one-third of the Judges must have been barristers or advocates. It seems questionable whether, on the whole, this change would furnish a guarantee of greater strength. Another provision of the Bill, which appears to meet with general approval, is that the High Courts shall have power to make and alter the rules of procedure of the Small Cause Courts.

The provisions of the Bengal Municipalities Bill, by which it was proposed to vest the local Government with the power to deprive Municipalities of the right of appointing their own

Chairman and of varying the boundaries of Municipalities, have been abandoned, under the circumstances already referred to, and here, we are disposed to think, the change robs the Bill of its chief merit, and is more likely to injure than to promote the cause of local self-government.

In the Viceregal Council, on the 2nd ultimo, His Excellency the President announced that, owing to certain legal difficulties which had been unexpectedly discovered, the arrangements which had been agreed upon for the reconstitution of the Councils under the new Act could not be carried out for some little time to come. At the same time His Excellency stated and explained the rules which had been framed, and which have since been published, for the discussion of the Financial Statement, and for the exercise of the newly conferred privilege of interpellation.

The former are, (1); the Statement shall be explained in Council every year and a printed copy given to each member; (2), after the explanation has been made, each member shall be at liberty to offer any observations he may wish to make on the Statement, and (3), the Financial Member shall have the right of reply, and the discussion shall be closed by the President making such observations, if any, as he may consider necessary.

On the second head the rules are, that questions must be so framed as to be merely requests for information, and must not be put in an argumentative, or hypothetical form, or in defamatory language. That no discussion will be permitted in respect of an answer given to a question. That a question of which notice has been given by one member, may, if he so desires, be asked by another member on his behalf. That the President may disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interests.

In the Local Legislatures members are also precluded from asking questions with regard to matters, or branches of the administration, not under the control of the Local Government concerned; and in matters which are, or have been, the subjects of controversy between the Governor-General in Council or the Secretary of State, and the Local Government, no question shall be asked, or answer given, except as to matters of fact.

The rules have been criticised by a section of the press as calculated to restrict the right of interpellation too narrowly; but it is difficult to see that any of them could be conveniently dispensed with, though, perhaps, that which prohibits the putting of questions in hypothetical form might be qualified with advantage.

At the last meeting of the Viceregal Council, the Government had a foretaste of what is likely to be the practical re-

sult of the grant of the right of interpellation ; and it must, we imagine, have felt that there was some ground for apprehending that the opportunities of the Councils for actual legislation would be reduced within very narrow limits, a consummation which, to some minds, may seem not altogether an unmixed evil.

On the 3rd ultimo an influential deputation, appointed at a public meeting held some days previously at the Calcutta Town Hall, under the auspices of the Indian Currency Association, and representing the large majority of the merchants, traders, ship-owners, bankers, and land-owners of Calcutta, waited on the Viceroy to urge the closing of the Mints to free coinage, in view of the failure of the Brussels Conference and the state of the silver market, and met with a reply which was so far encouraging, that it showed that the movement had the sympathy and active support of the Government of India, which, however, was known before. At the same time the Viceroy was unable to give any assurance as to the policy which the Government would adopt ; and it is clear from the terms in which he spoke, that the Home Government has no intention of giving the Government of India a free hand in the matter. In the meantime, rumour has it that Lord Herschell's Committee, on which all eyes were turned, has failed to arrive at an agreement, and that the *status quo* is therefore likely to remain undisturbed for some time longer.

A motion by Sir H. Meysey Thompson, expressing the desire of the House that the Government should use its influence to procure the re-assembling of the Brussels Conference and impress on the delegates the necessity of adopting measures to arrest the divergence between the values of the two metals, has been rejected in the House of Commons by 229 votes to 148. Mr. Gladstone made a speech on the occasion, in the course of which he declared that bimetallism would involve serious loss of capital invested by England in foreign countries, and which may be regarded as having given the *coup de grâce* to the hopes of its advocates. Mr. Goschen, on the same occasion, declared it to be the duty of England to do every thing in her power to extend the use of silver.

Subsequently the House unanimously agreed to a Resolution to the effect that any meddling with the existing standard was open to grave objection.

Fortunately, in America there seems to be no immediate prospect of the repeal of the present Silver Law ; but unless some marked change for the better in the prospects of the market should take place, this is sooner or later inevitable. There is, however, some reason for thinking that the production of the metal has reached its maximum, and would be

likely to contract with any further fall in price, if it is not already contracting.

A representative deputation, on behalf of the European Civil and Military servants of the Government, also waited on the Viceroy to urge their claim to an adjustment of salaries in view of the heavy fall in exchange, and His Excellency's reply amounted to an assurance that the Government recognised both the justice of their case, and its obligation to provide a remedy in the direction sought, failing relief from other causes.

No further communication has reached the Government from the Amir of Kabul on the subject of his reception of the proposed mission; and it seems unlikely that any further attempt will be made to press the matter on him. It is believed, however, that Mr. Pyne, the Amir's Engineer, who is on his way to Calcutta, *en route* for England, is the bearer of despatches for the Viceroy, on the subject of the recent communications of the Government of India.

A valedictory banquet was given to Lord Roberts by the European community of Calcutta yesterday evening, when an address was presented to His Excellency by Mr. Mackay, who also proposed the health of the guest of the evening, in a short, but graceful, speech, to which Lord Roberts replied in terms at once feeling and informing.

Regarding the views of the retiring Commander-in-Chief on certain military political questions, there may be wide difference of opinion. There can be none as to his merits as a military administrator; as to the immense improvement, moral, physical and technical, which he has effected in the army in India; as to his care for the well being of the soldier, or as to his popularity with both rank and file of the service; while Lady Roberts will always be well remembered, both for her private charity and for her more public efforts on behalf of the soldier and those belonging to him.

It has been determined, we see, to erect a bronze statue to Lord Roberts on the Maidan.

At home political interest centres in the Home Rule Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Gladstone, in a densely-crowded House, on the 13th ultimo. Into the details of the measure, which, by this time, must be familiar to every reader of the *Calcutta Review*, we need not enter here. It is distinctly more hostile to Imperial interests, than the former Bill, and is a measure which certainly cannot become law without a dissolution, though it may, not improbably, pass the Commons, and which can hardly become law without provoking Civil War in Ireland.

Its fatal defects are, that it withholds from the other parts of the United Kingdom the only boon which could render any scheme of Home Rule tolerable to them, viz, the exclusion of

the Irish members, or at all events of all but a small quota of them from the Imperial Parliament, and that it leaves Ulster practically unprotected. These are not the only respects in which the Bill is dangerous or unworkable, but they are enough to condemn it.

The other measures introduced by the Government include a Registration Bill, which proposes to abolish the rating qualification, to reduce the qualifying period for all classes of electors from twelve or six months to three months, ending on June 24 in each year; to render successive occupation of different qualifications in the same electoral area sufficient, and to abolish the requirement, that a lodger should claim to be put on the register; an employer's Liability Bill, abolishing the doctrine of common employment, prohibiting contracts by which a workman renounces his statutory rights, and simplifying the procedure by which a workman can pursue his statutory remedies; a Local Option Bill, and a Suspensory Bill, to pave the way for Welsh Disestablishment.

In the domain of foreign politics, the most striking event of the Quarter has been a crisis in Egypt which threatened, at one time, to lead to a rupture between the British Government and the young Khedive, but which was sharply terminated by the promptitude and firmness of Lord Cromer. The indisposition of the Prime Minister, Mustapha Fehmy Pasha, was seized upon by the Khedive as a pretext not only for superseding him by a politician of notoriously anti-English proclivities, who had been dismissed for his obstructiveness two years previously, when he held the portfolio of Justice, but for reconstructing the entire Ministry. Lord Cromer at once demanded that the publication of the Khedivial decree should be withheld, pending instructions from England, and subsequently he visited the Khedive and presented him with an ultimatum, demanding the cancelment of the appointments within twenty-four hours. The Khedive appears at first to have hesitated, but, finding himself without the foreign support on which he seems to have reckoned, he agreed to the demand of the British Minister, only stipulating that, to save his dignity, Fakhri Pasha, who had, in the meantime resigned, should be replaced by Riaz Pasha, instead of by Fehmy. Popular feeling ran high in favour of the Khedive for some days, and it was thought necessary to re-inforce the British garrison in order to prevent a hostile demonstration, but matters have since quieted down, and Lord Cromer's action has met with the general approval of the Continental Powers, France excepted.

The obituary for the Quarter includes the names of—

Lord Brabourne; Mr. H. F. Blanford, F. R. S., late Meteorological Reporter to the Government of India; Sir Walter

Barttelot ; Sir Peter Benson Maxwell ; Mr. Thomson Hankey ; Mrs. Pierce Butler (Fanny Kemble) ; Ex-President Hayes ; General Francis Young ; Sir John Peter Grant, K. C. B., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal ; Mr. Hawley Smart ; Major General W. L. Briggs, C. B. ; Mr. Montagu Williams ; Mr. John Gibson ; Sir Richard Owen, and Mr. John Emile Lemonine.

CALCUTTA: }
12th March 1893. }

J. W. F.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1891-92.

ONCE upon a time a man reputed sensible by his fellows, declared a big book to be a great evil. We are not prepared to declare the yearly increasing bulk of Bengal Administration Reports an altogether avoidable evil, but we certainly think more might be done than is done towards mitigation of their obeseness, by application of a Banting system, by less assimilation of petty detail, by suppression of fads. There may well be other short cuts available: we have but indicated one or two that, without impairing their usefulness, might help toward reversion to such salient brevity as found favour in Sir George Campbell's reign. Most of the matters reported and minuted on between the red covers of the *Report of the Administration of Bengal, 1891-92*, have already been noticed in the *Calcutta Review*.

The year of review was the last of the last Provincial Contract period, and was distinguished by a little friction with the Government of India on the subject of its rights and wrongs, and commendable refusal on Sir Charles Elliott's part to allow the interests of his Province to be sacrificed to bureaucratic Simla greed. The dispute, or difference of opinion, or whatever it ought to be called, is still, so to speak, *sub judice*; still, we may, without contempt of court, give expression to our opinion that Sir Charles deserves well of Bengal for having fought its financial battle valiantly, in the teeth of a powerful opposition, and having, at any rate, won the honours of the war, while over his pet scheme of Survey and Settlement he has scored incisively. In the course of the year, pains were taken, and legislative measures, to improve the working of the Police and Criminal Justice Departments, and to bring the village police into closer relations with District Magistrates: reversion to the old dispensation that worked well a quarter of a century ago, and the objection to which then taken was that old and proved lamps could not be as good as new and untried ones. Sir Charles Elliott has ordained that the village chowkeydar is not longer to consider himself a hewer of wood and drawer of water, and runner of messages for huzoor the "*Connesaveel*"; who, in his turn, is to get better pay, and clothing allowance more commensurate with market rate. None too soon. Meanwhile, there has been an increase of dacoitee in every division except Chittagong; and Sir Charles considers it would be more to the purpose did the

police devote their supererogatory energies to the prevention of the export of arms to native States, rather than to the institution of prosecutions for unlicensed possession of worn-out, useless matchlocks and other antiquated weapons :—

Proposals have been made for holding more frequent sessions. The general powers of committal which were hitherto exercised by all Magistrates of the second class, have been withdrawn. It has been arranged that more attention should be devoted to the prosecution of police cases, and the experiment of transferring a large portion of the Court Sub-Inspector's work to the Magistrate's office, and setting the Court Sub-Inspector free from the multifarious details which now engross his time, so that he may have leisure to prepare cases and conduct prosecutions, was ordered for six months in six selected districts. The attention of District Magistrates has been drawn to the unnecessary detention of criminal lunatics while under observation in jail. They have been given to understand that jails and lunatic asylums are intended, not for village idiots, who are accused of petty offences, possibly because their fellow-villagers have grown tired of supporting them, but for dangerous lunatics, who are charged with violent or homicidal acts or attempts, and that it is a part of their duty to see that none but such lunatics as come within the above description are admitted into them. It has been pointed out that accused persons are often detained before the courts for an unreasonable time, while enquiries are being made by the police about their antecedents. It has been enjoined on Magistrates and Sub-divisional Officers that they should watch the proceedings of investigating police officers with greater care, and issue such instructions as they may think fit. The necessity of carefully watching over the work of their subordinates has been impressed again and again on District Magistrates with especial reference to delays in trying cases and unnecessary remands. At the suggestion of the Lieutenant-Governor, the High Court have issued instructions to Sessions Judges that they are authorised and expected to inspect the Courts of Magistrates subordinate to them. Above all things, Sir Charles Elliott has insisted that there shall be no avoidable delay in the disposal of cases.

There is a pleasing ring of practical philanthropy pervading that rescript. The year was marked by a considerable increase in the jail population, the number both of admissions and of prisoners remaining in custody at the end of it, having been greater than in any of the ten preceding years. Nevertheless, the death-rate was the lowest on record. Jails, their sanitation, discipline, &c., are matters that have engaged the earnest attention of His Honor and his advisers, in and out of Council. Our readers are aware that sensible, substantial reforms and ameliorations have resulted. *Re* the abandonment of criminal proceedings against the *Bangobasi* for preaching sedition, it is written : "There is reason to believe that this act of lenity was appreciated by the community generally, and that it exercised a healthy influence on the tone of the Press at the time." Under the heading Civil Justice in the Summary preparing Reports, we read :—

Sir Charles Elliott is desirous of concentrating the establishment of Munsif's Courts as far as possible at district or subdivisional head-quarters, and with this object has hesitated to sanction proposals put forward for rebuilding or constructing isolated offices on a large scale. It is at head-quarters only that a good bar can be obtained, and proper inspection and supervision can be exercised over the proceedings of the lower Courts. As the Hon'ble Judges have intimated to Government that they are in general accord with the prin-

ciple of concentration at head quarters, it may be expected that the number of outlying munsiffs will be gradually decreased, and that new buildings will in the future be more often at the sadar or subdivision stations than in distant localities.

With reference to the Calcutta Small Cause Court, it is written :—

He considers that the chief point which requires amendment in the procedure of the Court relates to the delay in dealing with contentious cases, and as a remedy for this delay His Honour has recommended that legal powers should be given to the Judges to deal with undefended cases in a more summary manner; that all cases should be placed on cause lists, the number suited to the average capacity of a Court, being fixed for each day, and that a rule should be made that cases postponed from one day must be heard the next day; that a single Court, if it gets into arrears, must sit later than usual to try its cases; that if the whole Court gets into arrears, it must enjoy fewer holidays and sit for more days and for longer hours; and finally, that power should be given to the Chief Judge to frame rules of procedure, from time to time, with the sanction of the Local Government. Sir Charles Elliott has also strongly pressed for the appointment of a permanent fifth Judge, and has insisted on a reduction in the ministerial establishment employed, which, as shown by the Finance Committee, was excessive in comparison with that entertained in other Presidencies.

With reference to the amount of public interest shown in Municipal elections in Calcutta, it is noticeable that a comparison of the election statistics of 1889 and 1892 shows that, while the proportion of Hindus actually voting to the number entitled to vote rose from less than one-third to nearly one-half, the proportion of Mahomedan voters declined in an inverse ratio, and that of Europeans (including Eurasians) remained stationary, *i.e.*, they have become too sick of the windbag to care to pump up any interest at all. The Fire Brigade Act was amended: the Calcutta Hackney Carriage Act is held to have been, also. The collection of vital statistics was transferred from Mofussil Municipalities to the Police—a nice derangement of epithets, from which it is hoped that practicality will be evolved. By way of *quid pro quo*, the municipalities are henceforth to contribute somewhat towards the cost of giving primary education to children born within their boundaries. Orders were promulgated for sanitary purification of the Hindu Holy of Holies at Puri. Considerable attention was devoted during the year to questions of drainage and water supply; somewhat was actually done at Dacca; schemes and surveys are notified from other centres of provincial light and leading. Furthermore, arrangements have been made to place at the disposal of an embryo sanitary Board, for loan and on approval, a complete set of surveying instruments.

Last year, the average incidence per head of Municipal taxation of all kinds in Behar was Rs. 0-12-4 against Rs. 0-11-11 in 1890-91 :—

In the revised edition of the Bengal Famine Code, which was issued at the

end of the year, the duties of District Boards, in times of scarcity and famine, were defined. It was laid down that District Boards must be regarded as forming an integral part of the administration, and that it becomes their duty, as it is that of other departments of Government in time of serious scarcity, to subordinate the ordinary objects and methods of their expenditure to the special consideration of saving life. District Boards, it was held, are the primary agency available for coping with famine, and must be expected in such a crisis to direct their whole resources, subject only to the maintenance of absolutely necessary works in non-affected tracts, to affording relief. This primary obligation having been carried out, it remains for Government to supplement the resources of Boards, if necessary, so as to enable them not only to combat famine, but also to perform their ordinary functions connected with the up-keep of district communications. Before, then, an appeal is made by the Boards to Government for funds, all possible expenditure, beyond that absolutely necessary for bare maintenance and establishment charges, should be diverted from non-affected to affected arrears, and from ordinary works of construction, such as bridges, which require the employment of skilled labour, to those which can be carried out by the unskilled labour of the ordinary rural population who are affected by the scarcity; and on the opening of relief operations the district budgets should be remodelled with this object.

It was also ordered that the relief operations carried on by District Boards, whether in the form of gratuitous relief, poor-houses, kitchens for children or relief works (whether civil agency or professional agency) should be regulated by the provisions, and their officers should be subject to the rules laid down in the Code. But though the agency of the District Boards is utilised in carrying out gratuitous relief, it is not considered that the cost of such relief falls legitimately upon their finances, and they will be recouped for such expenditure from Provincial funds.

The Lieutenant-Governor's views on P. W. D. red tape and reform are set forth in the following paras :—

The waste of time and labour involved in the preparation of projects which had not been first of all submitted in the rough, and received the stamp of approval from the Local Government, was noticed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and the procedure has now been so altered as to require officials needing alterations or additions to buildings used by them or new accommodation, to prove the necessity of their requirements through the head of their own Department, the local Engineers merely providing them with rough plans and approximate estimates to enable them to do so. When the necessity for a work is proved, administrative sanction is given, and the Public Works Department is then called upon to prepare a detailed scheme and to provide funds, if possible.

The Lieutenant-Governor took exception to the existence of a duplicate executive and superintending agency in most parts of the Province, for the carrying out and control of works in connection with buildings and roads. Almost all the roads and all Local Fund buildings, such as dispensaries, *dák* bungalows, &c., had been handed over to the District Board, and placed under the care of District Engineers, while Imperial and Provincial buildings, such as Post and Telegraph offices, Churches, Courts and Jails, remained under the charge of Executive Engineers. The result of this was that Executive and District Engineers constantly travelled over the same ground, and competed with each other for labour for adjacent buildings, two officers being employed on work which could easily be done by one, while the charges of Superintending Engineers and Inspectors of Local Works were found to overlap. This waste of power has been checked by handing over the care of Provincial and Imperial buildings to District Boards, and abolishing all but two of the Inspectorships of Local Works, relegating their duties to Superintending Engineers. By this re-arrangement it has been found possible to considerably reduce the *cadre* in the Roads and Buildings Branch, and the saving in the cost of establishment has been about Rs. 52,700 per annum.

The fuller utilization of jail labour on public works was another matter that engaged the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor, and orders were issued with

a view to the employment of strong adult prisoners on such operations as brick and tile making, stone breaking, and soorkee pounding, which had hitherto been carried out by means of free labour; also on construction and repairs required to be done inside the jails, and on new buildings and earth-work outside, but situated within two miles of it.

The net revenue derived from customs duties amounted to Rs. 2,85,50,883; an increase of Rs. 11,02,870 on the previous year, but still ten per cent. less than the revenue of 1881-82, the year previous to the abolition of the general import duties.

Sir Charles Elliott believes in the possibility of great developments of the mining industry in Bengal, and, with view to their advent, sanctioned, as a tentative measure, a scheme proposed for the training of mining engineers in connection with the Sibpur Engineering College. With a view to the encouragement of drainage, (as an element of education, in connection with the advancement of arts and industries, His Honor has decided:—

- (1) That drawing and allied subjects should be generally introduced in high schools, and eventually in middle schools;
- (2) That drawing should be made a compulsory part of the course in training schools, sanction being at the same time accorded to the expenditure of a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,000 per annum for teaching drawing in the eight training schools of the first grade;
- (3) That for the purpose of awarding the Government junior scholarships, the marks gained in drawing by each candidate who takes up the subject at the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University, should be added to his total; and
- (4) That a drawing master should be appointed in each high school, the expenditure being met from provincial revenues, if the institution has not a surplus income after the deduction of fees.

The Sanskrit *tols* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa being reported *in extremis* and in danger of collapse, His Honour has, with a view to their resuscitation, and in the hope of stimulating national liberality for a distinctively national object, sanctioned sundry grants, stipends, and rewards to teachers and pupils of *tols*. His Honor has failed to recognise the existence of an amount of pauperism among the domiciled European community of Calcutta and Howrah—"far larger than what is believed to be the amount of similar destitution in England," as a danger to the State, and is, unlike his usual self, lukewarm with regard to remedies, proposed and possible.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

Rulers of India, Lord Lawrence. By SIR CHARLES AITCHISON, K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.D., formerly Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

MANY books, big and little, on altogether hero-worshipping lines, and in a more matter-of-fact spirit, have been written with the career of Lord Lawrence of the Punjab for text ; but it was felt at the Clarendon Press, as well as beyond, that the " Rulers of India " series would be incomplete whilst lacking memoir of a man who has left the impress of his character so strongly marked on Indian history, as Mr. John Lawrence ; the man who was able to do more than all his compeers to save the Empire from ruin in 1857-58, and who afterwards became *de facto* ruler of that Empire.

Than Sir Charles Aitchison the lot could have fallen on no one better equipped by temperament and intimate knowledge for undertaking the record of the official life and achievements of the Chief he served under for many years, through the Mutiny whirlwind, and afterwards as Foreign Secretary at Calcutta and Simla.

We pass over the chapters dealing with Lawrence's work as District Officer, Commissioner, Chief Commissioner ; pretermitt even the chronicle of that clear prevision and strong statesmanship in a chaotic time that led him to concentrate his energies and the forces at his command on the siege of Delhi, and to dare so many grave responsibilities in order to its successful issue. Not that the plan of these chapters is ill conceived ; not that they have no worthy story to tell, or consist of vain repetitions. They inform with a light distinctly their own, and are well worth reading. But the apprenticeship phases of Lawrence's Civil Service career have been dilated on sufficiently by Bosworth Smith, Robert Cust, Dr. George Smith, Captain Trotter, Sir Richard Temple. With so great a personality *en train*, the road they have shown their paces on can never be hackneyed ; but we prefer to invite attention to that portion of the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab's book which is concerned specially with affairs coming under Foreign Office purview, and with his acts and policies and proclivities as Viceroy of India ; and more particularly with regard to Frontier, Feudatory, and Foreign affairs, with the initiation and conduct of which Sir Charles Aitchison had so much to do, that had he not been

modest, he could very warrantably have said—*quorum pars magna fui*. In a preface to the study before us, a wish that his Chief's Foreign Office policy should be accorded precedence when men weigh in the balances of after-thought the motives actuating Lawrence's policy and its issues, seeming and real, is given vent to* in these words :—

It may be thought that in the chapter on Afghán affairs I have not observed due proportion. There is ground for this. Sir John Lawrence's policy and action have been so much misunderstood, that I have thought it best to give a plain narrative of facts with quotations from documents. It is essential to know not only what Sir John Lawrence said and did, but the time at which, and the circumstances under which he said and did it. If my own conclusions be thought to be those of a disciple, the facts are there, and the reader will judge for himself.

The term of Sir John Lawrence's Viceroyalty was, through the natural law of reaction, an uneventful one from an epoch-making point of regard ; a time of consolidations, safe guardings, insurances of sorts. Border forays at various points on the North West frontier, however, did occur, pointing to the moral, "Ready, aye ready." Sir John did what in him lay to avoid them ; but to extirpate border crime is beyond human power. Frontier raids, as Lord Dalhousie observed, are no more to be regarded as interruptions of the general peace in India, than the street brawls, which appear among the every-day proceedings of a police court in London, are regarded as indications of the existence of civil war in England. Punitive expeditions are a necessity of the situation. They will not cease till the other side of the line is held by civilised governments.

N. W. Frontier border forays and their complications, after all said and done on that salient subject, resulted in only two collisions with authority that seriously disturbed the public peace. The Bhutan expedition, on quite another frontier, was an unacceptable legacy from the milk and water policy of predecessors in office. Moreover,

Military men, smarting under a temporary check in which we had lost two guns, condemned Lawrence for granting the Bhutanese terms which were thought too easy. But the guns were restored as a preliminary condition of peace ; and Lawrence, 'rich in saving common sense,' fought for peace, not for prestige. Nothing was to be gained by the prosecution of a war with the Bhutanese at any time, least of all when India was overwhelmed in commercial and financial troubles. The best proof that the terms were just, lies in the fact that our relations with Bhutan have ever since been better than they were before. During the recent difficulties with Tibet, the Bhutan Government resisted the pressure put upon them to adopt an unfriendly attitude towards us.

Apropos of the continuance, by Canning's virtual successor in office, of Canning's policy of clemency and non-intervention, we shall do well, in any estimate made of the force of character

* "Being called on, towards the end of my service, to govern the Punjab, found there still the impress of his masterhand, weakened indeed by time and change, but not obliterated."

and conscientiousness of soul appertaining to that successor to bear in mind that :—

“ In his early public life Lawrence was an annexationist. He drank at the same fountain as Lord Dalhousie, and imbibed the principles of his great master and friend. As Magistrate of Delhi he had seen the worst side of a licentious Court, and the rampant evils caused by a multitude of petty Native Chiefships which the British Government preserved from extinction, but abstained from guiding or controlling. He had seen with satisfaction the little Chiefs of the Cis-Sutlej States reduced to the position of ordinary subjects. He had refused to re-establish the principalities in Kángra, which the Sikhs had destroyed. He had advocated the annexation of the Punjab, and one of his first acts as Chief Commissioner had been, to deprive the Nawáb of Mamdot of sovereign power, which he had abused, and to bring his territory under British jurisdiction. He had seen, without a pang of regret, the Kingdom of Oudh absorbed within the red line. ‘ Anything short of it,’ he wrote, “ is a mistake. Will not all the people rejoice, except the fiddlers, barbers, and that genus? I wish I was thirty-five instead of forty-five, and had to put it in order.”

Awful Mutiny lessons converted John Lawrence to a sense of the value of whole-hearted native allies, and induced reversal of his previous convictions as to the Bourbon-like unteachability and failure as to character of that too-privileged class.

In the book under review the story of the new Viceroy's dealings with Sher Ali, Azim Khan, Abdul Rahman, and other aspirants after arbitrary power in Afghanistan, is told at length. His manner of dealing with such men may fitly be summed up in Lawrence's own opportunist words :—“ Our relations should always be with the *de facto* ruler of the day, and, as long as the *de facto* ruler is not unfriendly to us, we should always be prepared to renew with him the same terms as obtained under his predecessor.”

Rulers of India. Albuquerque. By H. MORSE STEPHENS, Lecturer on Indian History at Cambridge, Author of “ A History of the French Revolution,” “ The Story of Portugal,” etc. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press : 1892.

IN a previously published “ Story of Portugal,” Mr. H. Morse Stevens, lecturer on Indian History at Cambridge, approved his fitness for chronicling the achievements of Portugal's greatest pioneer Captain in the East, Affonso de Albuquerque. Albuquerque, the man himself signed his name, by the way. Successful statesman he, as well as successful Commander in the field ; a ruler of men, politic, far-sighted, broad-minded, endued

with liberal ideas far in advance of his fellow-men, and a willingness for statecraft's sake to walk in the ways of a wide religious toleration, as foreign to the crusading spirit of the Portugal of the sixteenth century as to his own personal hatred of "Moors." Had they not slain in battle, at his very side, a younger brother whose blood appealed to Heaven for vengeance? And for him, all followers of the false prophet, Mahomed, were Moors, whether opposed to Christian nationalities in Castille, or in filibustering expeditions under the ægis of the Cross in Africa or Ind. Yet, sixteenth century devout though he was, he was neither persecutor in religious name, nor proselytizer at the sword's point. He sank the man, the old Adam, in his Viceroyalty: his enemies were those, and those only, who stood in the way of his Sovereign's aims, the establishment of Portuguese power and trade monopolies, and checks on Moorish ambition. Putting these ends in the forefront of all his endeavours, he courted the alliance and co-operation of Hindu princes, as a counterblast to Mahomedan ascendancy. He kept faith with the heathen as long as they would keep faith with him. When he exacted retribution for broken pledges, violated treaties, customary treacheries, he went into the business, as into all the business he undertook—thoroughly, unrelentingly. It is the only method that is efficacious with Asiatics, as our constantly-recurring frontier outbreaks ought to have taught us by this time. Albuquerque, three centuries ago, divined that, in such guerilla warfare, initial relentlessness is, in the long run, the most merciful policy, as being the only policy that convinces Asiatics of power and the futility of kicking against pricks. The idea of employing sepoy troops to fight the battles of Europeans in India originated with the Portuguese Captain General. He indented on the mother country for schoolmasters, and educated natives up to fitness for employment, to some extent on administrative, as well as on clerical, work, on Western world lines. Out of financial chaos he evolved a soundly economic and trustworthy fiscal system; which, but for the venal corruptibility of subsequent administrations, might have preserved Portuguese India from putrefaction and dry-rot. In brief, Albuquerque, as a statesman, inaugurated many traits of administrative faculty which Englishmen are prone to consider peculiar to English rulers of India of a later and better developed historic period.

Believers in heredity who recognise Albuquerque's merits as a wise politician and a capable administrator of affairs, may find in his ancestry some warrant for the faith that is in them. One of his forbears was, that King Diniz, known in history as "The Labourer." Another married a daughter of the King

of Castille and made his mark on contemporaneous events. Bars sinister on an escutcheon may have bearing on the order of precedence at a Court function: they have not the effect of impoverishing the blood, or attenuating those hereditary energies that avail to push men to the front and make their careers distinguished. Albuquerque's energies were immense, and helped greatly towards the adequate fulfilment of his endeavours, enabling him to cope with such extraneous difficulties on his chosen path, as mutinous lieutenants, traducers at Court, and so forth, as well as what we may be allowed to term legitimate hindrances.

He possessed an intuitive knowledge of the best way to deal with Asiatic peoples. He understood the importance of pomp and ceremony, and the influence exerted by the possession of the prestige of victory.

Throughout there was something of the grandiose in his nature and his views. His project of establishing an Empire in India naturally seemed absurd to his contemporaries. And the attempt to realise it exhausted the Portuguese nation. But the existence of the English empire in India has shown that Albuquerque's idea was not impracticable in itself; it was his nation which proved inadequate to the task. Albuquerque's courage and his cruelty, his piety and his cunning were not peculiar to himself; they were shared by other men of his time and country. But his tenacity of purpose, his broadminded tolerance, and his statesmanlike views, were absolutely unique, and helped to win for him his proud designation of Affonso de Albuquerque the Great.

For an appreciative study of Albuquerque's mission in India and its bearings on the history of the world, students will do well to consult Mr. Morse Stephen's pages, which, over and above the immediate subject, give a skeleton sketch of the doings of Governors who succeeded him.

The Bow of Fate. By SURGEON-MAJOR H. M. GREENHOW, London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 13, Waterloo Place. S. W., 1893.

THE hero of Surgeon-Major Greenhow's novel is a gentleman belonging to the Central Provinces, described as of a light brown colour, with decidedly handsome features, and the mark of a high-caste Brahmin on his forehead, Bhagat by name.

He makes his bow to the reader in a drawing-room in Scotland, and is introduced as the heroine's—bearer. In this capacity, he—in Scotland, in Winter time—delights an aristocratic audience by performing the famous trick of Indian jugglers, making a mango tree grow out of nothing, and blossom, and bear fruit, which fruit an old Anglo-Indian present pronounces as fresh and luscious to the taste as any he had aforetime eaten in Bombay. This juggler Brahmin's brother, "Ram Dyall," is a Rajput, and a R ussuldar in a Native Cavalry

Regiment. Chapters II and III tell of the voyage out round the Cape and adventures in a dâk gharry. Chapter IV is headed "A Polo Match," and details the fortunes of a game supposed to have been played in the Central Provinces (not far from Lucknow, by the way) years before polo was dreamt of anywhere outside Manipur or Baltistan.

In the course of this anachronous game, Sekunder Khan, a lover of the Eurasian heroine, his Colonel's niece, deliberately rides down the Englishman she is in love with, very nearly succeeds in killing him, and, by doing so, gains, rather than loses, favour with his officers and the ladies. Another ardent admirer, a middle aged, somewhat morose Major, thinks he can more effectually "mash" Miss Lilian Langford by tying a bell round his neck, pretending to be a bullock, and going into the jungles alone, at night and on foot, to shoot a man-eating tiger. After an absurd chapter (VII), devoted to the description of an impossible nautch given by native officers to the station, in the thick of the Mutiny, the time comes (Chapter IX) for Jahmere also to be involved in the tide of rebellion and massacre—naturally an opportunity for graphic, sensational writing not missed. At Jahmere, some of the mutineers, caught red-handed, are blown from guns on the parade ground, and Lilian, failing in her endeavour to save one of them, repairs one night to a Mutineer "Brahmin's temple" for consolation and counsel. The priest there, a sort of Catholic father confessor in a dhoty, advises her to put poison in a curry she is going to make with her own hands next day for a burra khana to be given by her uncle to all the station.

On her refusal, after a lot of shilly-shally on one side, and hocus-pocus on the other, the priest delivers her over as a prey to the lust of a Mahomedan.

Conveyed *vi et armis* to his house in the city, and there locked up,

She raised the purdah, and was in the act of trying to push open the door, to which there appeared to be no handle, when she felt a sudden blow from behind, and on reeling backwards was confronted by an enormous lizard, whose jaws opened ominously, and whose bloodshot eyes rolled and winked at her in a manner startling and unearthly. Again she felt a smart concussion, and perceived it was due to the sharp whisk of the creature's scaly and massive tail; nor did the blows cease till, in sheer horror, she dropped the purdah and fled to the other side of the chamber, where, piling the cushions one on top of another, she strove to make a place of safety for herself.

Surgeon-Major Greenhow deserves all the credit due to the creation of a brand new sensational incident.

By way of illustrating his conception of Brahmin methods of dealing with well-educated Colonel's daughters, we give another quotation:—

"You, my child," said the Brahmin, "are to be commissioned with the making of the curry for the party at your uncle's; for is the dish not called after your name?"

"Yes," she replied, "that is true ; I always make the curry."

"You will," continued her instructor, looking calmly at her as with a profound salaam he took from the very altar of the god, a small round glittering bottle, which he handled with the utmost reverence, "carefully mix with it the contents of this sacred phial, and you will do this unseen and unknown by any person. Do you fully comprehend my meaning?"

The unhappy girl gazed half in wonder, half in awe, as he raised before her the mysterious vessel, which she perceived was carefully closed.

"Is it from the god?" she asked at last, in a trembling voice.

"Directly from the god himself," answered the Brahmin, without hesitation "and with his blessing fresh upon it."

There was a pause, which Lilian broke.

"But you spoke of dying—that the Feringhis are to die!" she said; "and now you tell me I am to mix this medicine with the curry! Oh, father, what is it you mean? Why do you deal in such mystery?"

"My child, you have sworn to trust me, though warned that the conditions must be hard, that the sacrifice on your part may be almost more than you can conceive possible. Is it not so?" he asked, glaring at her from under his shaggy brows.

"It is so," she replied, frightened by his savage look; "it is so indeed!"

"And, lucky girl!" continued he, softening into a smile, "have you not been specially favoured, inasmuch as the god, in his goodness, has entrusted to you the task I am imposing on you, and placed in your hand the precious means wherewith to carry it out?"

Speaking so, he gave her the mysterious phial, which she saw was of beautiful silver filigree work, with innumerable glistening facets scattered over its surface.

"The god has been very kind," she murmured, overcome by sensations it were difficult to define; "and—yet—I cannot—I dare not—promise!"

"Not promise!" hissed the foul Brahmin in her ear; "not promise, after you have given yourself over absolutely to the service of the god, have lost your personality in his, and have taken into your possession at once the holiest symbol and the most sacred instrument of his will that it is possible for him, in his gracious favour, to bestow!"

Records of Tennyson, Ruskin and Browning. By ANNE RITCHIE. London: Macmillan and Co., 1892.

THAT amalgamation of hero worship and fondness for gossip to which average humanity is prone may be indulged in without a blush by investors in Mrs. Ritchie's "*Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning.*" We should have been glad of a much larger amount of critical exposition than is accorded; especially upon "*The Promise of May,*" considered in the light of an assault on latter day strongholds of Free-thought.

These "*Records of Tennyson, Ruskin, and Browning*" have been brought out by Macmillan and Co. on thick, toned, wide-margined paper, and are printed in a clear type, grateful to eyes accustomed to, and yet intolerant of, the flimsy material and slovenly typography of daily newspapers. Externals count for more than mere comfort, often for more than we are willing to allow. We are almost tempted to think that Remembrances might have been a more appropriate word than Records on the title page of Mrs. Ritchie's affectionate souvenirs of her connection with three artist lives. With four, we would

rather say ; for though Thackeray's name does not find a place on the title page, we get pleasant glimpses at him, and reminiscences of the way he took with the world, throughout the book, which is prefaced, as it were, by two extracts from his works. The first of these is so very germane to the purpose of the succeeding Records, that we need offer no apology for quoting it here :—

"Mind that there is always a certain *cachet* about great men. They speak of common life more largely and generously than common men do—they regard the world with a manlier countenance, and see its real features more fairly than the timid shufflers who only dare to look up at life through blinkers, or to have an opinion when there is a crowd to back it."—(*English Humourists*).

The least personally reminiscent of the Records is the first ; yet in it Mrs. Ritchie, although she was never, in the flesh, at Somersby, gives a word picture of the Lincolnshire parsonage, and the Tennysons' early home life, which is better than realistic, which one feels to be real, and the literary influences, the moral bents derived from which, one can trace in the Laureate's poetry. We cannot recal to mind previous mention of Thomson's "Seasons" as an early source of inspiration for Tennyson, or any other poet. That honour is accorded them in Mrs. Ritchie's pages. In the immature years, Byronic influence succeeded, superseded, Thomson's Seasons, and other relicts of a defunct, pseudo-classical style. One of Tennyson's titles to honour is that he rescued the conception of old world Hellenic thought current in his time from maudlin-French derived travesties, and well enough meant, but execrably perverse parodies. But that by the way. Byron, John Bull at bottom Byron, Hellenistic, though he believed himself to be on one side at least of his not very complex character, had enough of both qualities, with a profession of Radicalism in politics thrown in, to enchant that always ardent lover of liberty and culture, Alfred Tennyson. Byronic influence permeated the susceptibilities of the generation in which he was growing up to be a man ; the youthful Tennyson was of that day and that generation and was affected by its tides and entrainings. "Byron was dead ! I thought the whole world was at an end," he once said, speaking of these bygone days. "I thought every thing was over and finished for every one, that nothing else mattered. I remember I walked out alone, and carved 'Byron is dead' into the sandstone." He was soon to awake to knowledge that he himself was a greater than Byron. As to that not unfulfilled conceit, it may be remarked that the self-confidence that is the appanage of genius was, throughout his long life, a strongly marked characteristic of the man. When he went up to Cambridge, Whewell, then master of Trinity, "Whewell who was a man himself and who knew a man when he saw him, used to pass over in Alfred Tennyson certain informalities, and

forgetfulness of combinations as to gowns and places and times, which in another he would never have overlooked." Archbishop French, Lord Houghton, the Lushingtons, Kinglake, James Spalding, are numbered amongst the friends of the late Poet Laureate's College days. Arthur Hallam, the bosom friend, though but 23 when he died, had even so won for himself respectful deference from not too deferential reviewers, even from that dread Olympian *Quarterly* which Mr. Rigby of Coningsby renown, better known to us as John Wilson Croker, was wont to vaunt as so incomparably "slashing." To men of the passing generation it is a revelation to be remembranced of the rich Lord Tennyson of our time, living in proud poverty in London, less than half a century ago, "with his friends and his golden dreams."

It was about this time that Carlyle introduced Sir John Simeon to Tennyson one night at Bath House, and made the often-quoted speech, "There he sits upon a dung-heap surrounded by innumerable dead dogs"; by which dead dogs he meant "Cenone" and other Greek versions and adaptations. He had said the same thing of Landor and his *Hellenics*. "I was told of this" said Lord Tennyson, "and some time afterward I repeated it to Carlyle: 'I'm told that is what you say of me.' He gave a kind of guffaw. 'Eh, that wasn't a very luminous description of you,' he answered."

The story is well worth retelling, so completely does it illustrate the grim humour and unaffected candour of a dyspeptic man of genius, who flung words and epithets without malice, who neither realised the pain his chance sallies might give, nor the indelible flash which branded them upon people's memories.

The world has pointed its moral finger of late at the old man in his great old age, accusing himself in the face of all, and confessing the overpowering irritations which the suffering of a lifetime had laid upon him and upon her whom he loved. That old caustic man of deepest feeling, with an ill temper and a tender heart and a racking imagination, speaking from the grave, and bearing unto it that cross of passionate remorse which few among us dare to carry, seems to some of us now a figure nobler and truer, a teacher greater far, than in the days when his pain and love and remorse were still hidden from us all.

Tennyson once asked an opinion on Carlyle's *French Revolution* of Hallam; who replied—"Upon my word I once opened the book and read four or five pages. The style is so abominable I could not get on with it." Carlyle's criticism on *The History of the Middle Ages* was, "Eh! the poor, miserable skeleton of a book!"

Mrs. Ritchie avowedly felt herself more at home with the Brownings and their common sense than in a Tennysonian atmosphere that was transcendental, in spite of itself and strong proclivities toward the naturalness of Nature. Being her father's daughter she was and is, naturally enough, possessed of a mind better attuned to robust physics and the kindly vein of satiric humour therefrom to be learnt, than she is to the poetic vein that finds outlet only in Atlantis, and sentimental topsey turveydom of cosmogony.

To the writer's own particular taste there never will be any more delightful person than the simple-minded woman of the world, who has seen enough

to know what its praise is all worth, who is sure enough of her own position to take it for granted, who is interested in the person she is talking to, and unconscious of anything but a wish to give kindness and attention. This is the impression Mrs. Browning made upon me from the first moment I ever saw her to the last.

A generous humility of nature, translated by him into cheerful and vigorous goodwill, and utter absence of affectation, are the qualities suggested as keynote to the reading of Robert Browning's disposition. His greatness consisted in reaching the reality in all things, instead of keeping, as mediocrities are so sedulously careful to do, to the formalities of life. To the girl, Annie Thackeray, and her sister, the hours spent in Mrs. Browning's sitting-room seemed warmer and more full of interest and peace than they might attain, elsewhere. "Whether at Florence, at Rome, at Paris or in London once more, she seemed to carry her own atmosphere always, some thing serious, motherly, absolutely artless, and yet impassioned, noble, and sincere. It is suggested that the secret of Mrs. Browning's magnetic social power was that she kept her poetry for publication, and did not scatter scintillations from it in the way of conversations where it was not wanted. Mrs. Ritchie, more or less discerns that Browning possessed fully that dramatic faculty for lack of which Tennyson fell short in full admeasurement of the cosmological bearings of the word ποιητης. His plays do not accommodate themselves to theatrical "business," on its newest interpretations; but that by no manner of means vitiates their inherent dramatic excellence. In a letter of Lady Martin's (née Helen Faucit) rescripted here from the records, admiration is begged for theatrical representations of Mr. Browning's plays. Assuredly, Robert Browning, the man who could concern himself poetically (?) with Scroodge, the medium, and so forth, was less of an artist poet than Alfred Tennyson: possibly a greater poet, on diverse, analytic lines. Meanwhile, let us get a peep behind the scenes, through Helen Faucit's spectacles.

"At the rehearsals, when Mr. Browning was introduced to those ladies and gentlemen whom he did not know, his demeanour was so kind, considerate, and courteous, so grateful for the attention shown to his wishes, that he won directly the warm interest of all engaged in the play. So it was that, although many doubtful forecasts were made in the greenroom as to the ultimate attraction of a play so entirely turning on politics, yet all were determined to do their very best to insure its success.

"I can see my gown now in Lucy Percy, made from a Vandyck picture, and remember the thought bestowed even upon the kind of fur with which the gown was trimmed. The same minute attention to accuracy of costume prevailed in all the characters produced. The scenery was alike accurate, if not so full of small details as at present. The human beings dominated all."

Apropos of the views on spiritualism imputed to Browning and his wife, the Miss Thackeray who, with wide open, as yet

infantile, eyes, was waiting on the developments of that evangel, writes :—

"Mrs. Browning believed, and Mr. Browning was always irritated beyond patience by the subject. I can remember her voice, a sort of faint minor chord, as she, lisping the 'r' a little, uttered her remonstrating "Robert," and his loud, dominant baritone sweeping away every possible plea she and my father could make ; and then came my father's deliberate notes, which seemed to fall a little sadly—his voice always sounded a little sad—upon the rising waves of the discussion. I think this must have been just before we all went to Rome—it was in the morning, in some foreign city. I can see Mr. and Mrs. Browning, with their faces turned towards the window, and my father with his back to it, and all of us assembled in a little high-up room. Mr. Browning was dressed in a rough brown suit, and his hair was black hair then ; and she, as far as I can remember, was, as usual, in soft falling flounces of black silk, and with her heavy curls drooping, and a thin gold chain hanging round her neck.

Miss Thackeray, on the occasion of a parting and break up of social circles, occasioned by her father's departure on a lecturing tour in America, remembers feeling "as young people do, utterly hopelessly miserable, and then suddenly very cheerful every now and then." That sort of self-revealed temperament fits in well enough for application to the manufacture of fairy tales out of every-day circumstance, and such like transmigration and carrying beyond themselves of weary work-a-day souls. Thackeray *père* was man of the world enough to be interested in many matters seemingly outside his immediate purview ; made sceptically personal concern of stories told *re* spiritualism and table-turning.

Not long after her birth Mr. Moulton succeeded to some property, and took the name of Barrett, so that in after-times, when Mrs. Browning signed herself at length as Elizabeth Barrett Browning, it was her own Christian name that she used without any further literary assumptions. Her mother was Mary Graham, the daughter of a Mr. Graham, afterwards known as Mr. Graham Clark, of Northumberland. Soon after the child's birth her parents brought her southward, to Hope End, near Ledbury, in Herefordshire, where Mr. Barrett possessed a considerable estate, and had built himself a country house. The house is now pulled down, but is described by Lady Garmichael, one of the family, as "a luxurious home standing in a lovely park, among trees and sloping hills all sprinkled with sheep ;" and this same lady remembers the great hall, with the great organ in it, and more especially Elizabeth's room, a lofty chamber, with a stained-glass window casting lights across the floor, and little Elizabeth as she used to sit propped against the wall, with her hair falling all about her face. There were gardens round about the house leading to the park. Most of the children had their own plots to cultivate, and Elizabeth was famed among them all for success with her white roses. She had a bower of her own all overgrown with them ; it is still blooming for the readers of the lost bower "as once beneath the sunshine." Another favourite device with the child was that of a man of flowers, laid out in beds upon the lawn—a huge giant wrought of blossom. "Eyes of gentianella azure, staring, winking at the skies."

Renewing her acquaintance with Ruskin after fifteen years of growing from girlhood to matronliness, an interval he had spent in the Lake country, Mrs. Ritchie was "struck by the change for the better in him ; by the bright, radiant, sylvan look which a man gains by living among woods and hills and pure

breezes." She makes a pleasant picture of Brantwood nestling amid green hay fields and the wooded slopes of Coniston with yewdale for a background, Coniston Old Man on the other side of the lake rising like a Pilatus above the village, and soaring into changing lights and clouds. Out of the picture frame steps the master of Brantwood, "meeting us with a certain old-fashioned courtesy and manner, but he spoke with his heart, of which happily, the fashion does not change from one decade to another." Does it not? Is the heart exempt from the play of evolutionary laws? At the tiny landing pier, bucolic Timothy, from the farm, sent forward to pilot the visitors, told them, with a sympathetic grin, that Mr. Ruskin—"Rooskin, I think he called him—had built t' pier, and set t' stoans himsel' wi' the other gentlemen, but they had to send for t' smith from the village to make the bolt fawster." The moral appears to be that superior persons delight to honour themselves at their superiors' expense, in every walk of life.

The pier is fast enough, running out into the lake, with a little fleet safely anchored behind it, while Brantwood stands high up on the slope, with square windows looking across the waters. Just on the other side of the lake, wrapped in mysterious ivy wreaths, where the cows are whisking their tails beneath the elms, rise the gables of the old farm, once the manor-house where "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother," once dwelt. Sir Philip Sydney used to come riding across the distant hills to visit her there—so tradition says. The mere thought of Coniston Water brings back the peaceful legends and sounds all about Ruskin's home—the wash of the lake, the rustle of the leaves, and rushes, the beat of birds on their whirring wings, the flop of the water-rats, the many buzzing and splashing and delicious things. A path up a garden of fruit and flowers, of carnations and strawberries, leads with gay zigzags to the lawn in front of the Brantwood windows.

The house displays itself, white, plain, comfortable, absolutely unpretending—a dwelling place planned for sunshine, the scarce sunshine of England. "I remember noticing with a thrill the umbrella stand in the glass door. So Mr. Ruskin had an umbrella just like other people!" Upon the drawing-room walls Turners and water colour pictures in "curly" frames; in the dinning-room, a noble Titian and "an absence of any of the art diphthongs and peculiarities of modern taste: only the simplest and most natural arrangements for the comfort of the inmates and their guests." In these, perfectness. Even in the furniture of a homestead character finds expression.

Who can ever recall a good talk that is over? You can remember the room in which it was held, the look of the chairs, but the actual talk takes wings and flies away. A dull talk has no wings, and is remembered more easily; so are those tiresome conversations which consist of sentences which we all repeat by rote—sentences which have bored us a hundred times before, and which do not lose this property by long use. But a real talk leaps into life; it is there almost before we are conscious of its existence. What system of notation can mark it down as it flows, modulating from its opening chords to those delightful exhilarating strains which are gone again almost before we have realised them?

Ruskin actively protests against the shabby print and paper lovers of reading are content to "live with;" busies himself, *inter alia*, in getting printed *de luxe* editions of good books, for the delectation of shepherds living in the neighbourhood of Brantwood. "Let us trust these fortunate shepherds are worthy of their print and margins." The Lord of Brantwood is not concerned to determine their degree of worthiness; preferentially believes in the inherent, self-assertive power of his æsthetic gospel. He is so utterly unconventional that 'tis odd he has never been suspected of the Philistines of madness. A demonstratively practical vein in his character and disposition of worldly affairs, inherited from "that entirely honest merchant," that man of rare gifts and attainments, his father, it is, probably, that has saved our latter day Mæcenas from such opprobrium. Everyone has heard of the son's practical* philanthropic work in the world, and although professional political economists do not hold with his politico-economic teachings, any more than they do with one another's, they are yet fain to treat them with respect—after such manner, shall we say, as an Anglican Church, by law established, treats decrees of its conscript fathers to which it is not presently inclined—Luther's and Zwingle's in favour of polygamy, for instance. The master's teachings are many-sided, catholical. One day at Brantwood.—

It was some book of Indian warfare that he brought down from its place, and as he opened it he then and there began his sermon; spoke of the example which good Christian men and women might set in any part of the world; quoted Sir Herbert Edwardes, whom he loved and admired, as an example of what a true man should be. He spoke of him with kindling eyes, warming as he went on to tell, as only a Ruskin could tell it, the heroic history of the first Sikh war. What happened in India yesterday he did not know; he said he sometimes spent months without once looking at the papers, and in deliberate ignorance of what was happening and not happening in their columns.

I further remember, among other things, after his little lecture upon "True Knights," a delightful description of what a true lady should be. "A princess, a washerwoman," he said—"yes, a washerwoman! To see that all is fair and clean, to wash with water, to cleanse and purify wherever she goes, to set disordered things in orderly array—this was a woman's mission." Which sentence has often occurred to me since then at irritating moments of household administration.

Ruskin's confessed masters in art have been Tintoret, Thomas Carlyle, and Turner. Modern party politics, as interpreted for the *οἱ πολλοί* by the new journalism and its Pope, W. T. Stead, he is so blessed as to be able not to care a fig for. They are too parochial, too purposeless, too bizarre, to kindle

* Miss Octavia Hill went to him once to ask for his co-operation in an eleemosynary scheme of hers for acquisition of cottage property in London, by working men. He at once came forward with all the money necessary, and took the whole risk of the undertaking on himself; but was careful to point out at the same time that it would prove far more useful if it could be made to *pay*. A working man, he said, ought to be able to pay for his own house.

interest in his mind. Opinionatively, he is not without pride in professing himself, "a violent Tory of the old school, Walter Scott's school, that is to say, and Homer's."*

As Mrs. Ritchie reads "*Præterita*," it seems to her as if John Ruskin wrote his history not with ink, but painted it down with light and colour.

Its author has chosen to christen the story *Præterita*, but was ever a book less belonging to the past and more entirely present to our mood than this one? Not Goethe's own autobiography, not even Carlyle's passionate reminiscences, come up to it in vividness. There are so few words, such limpid images are brought flashing before our secret consciousness, that we seem to remember as we read. Or are we actually living in its pages, in the dawning light of that austere, yet glorious, childhood? Half a century rolls back, and we see the baby up above at the drawing-room windows, standing absorbed, watching the water-carts, and that wondrous turncock, "who turns and turns till a fountain springs up in the middle of the street;" and as we still watch the child, gazing out with his blue, deep-set eyes, the brown brick walls somehow become transparent, as they did for Ebenezer Scrooge, and we are, in the same mysterious fashion, absorbed into the quiet home and silent life.

"He should have been a Bishop," that entirely honest merchant father was wont to say of his artist son. It may well be that in his books, in the manner of his life, John Ruskin has preached more effective sermons than it had been in the scope of his genius to deliver from sectarian pulpit. The law of perfection is his favourite text. "There is also all the extraordinary influence of his personality in his teaching. Oracles, such as Mill and Spencer, veil their faces when they utter. Poets and orators like Ruskin uncover their heads as they addressed their congregations."

Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications. Vol. IV. Letters from a Mahratta Camp during the year 1809. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 14, Parliament Street, S. W., 1892.

MATHEW Arnold defined the State as "the power most representing the right reason of the nation, and the most worthy therefore of ruling." In *Letters from a Mahratta Camp* we are allowed to trace the application of this dogma in the India of sixty years ago. The lesson may have its uses, since there is among us a school of Englishmen whose leading tenets are disparagement of English institutions and exaltation at their expense of foreign methods.

A favourite paradox with these quidnuncs is that India was much better governed by its ancient† chiefs before the days of

* "My own teaching has been, and is, that liberty, whether in the body, soul, or political estate of man, is only another name for death—Putrefaction; the body spirit and political estate being healthy only by their bonds and laws."—1875 *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 411.

† It is a very curious fact that among the principal States of Hindoostan the

the Hon'ble John Company Bahadur than ever it has been since then. We would recommend these faddists to read, mark, and learn the story set forth in the book before us. A record of chartered, continuous rapine, lawlessness, oppression, blackest crime, on the part of a native ruler and his colleagues, certainly unparalleled for enormity in Europe, even in the days of Louis the eleventh of France, or any worse period, if there ever has been a worse one—a record that loses nothing in impressiveness because of its chronicler's staid, matter-of-fact, business-like way of relating it. The story is told in a series of letters to a brother in England. Their author, Colonel Broughton, a quondam Etonian, a "Dowb" with good connections in the Company's service, and at the India House, was Commandant of the escort of the British Resident detailed to accompany Scindia's Camp in its restless wanderings to and fro about the land, seeking whom it might devour.

These wanderings were sometimes, to all appearance, quite purposeless, more frequently were directed towards levy of tribute and blackmail, *e. g.*, let the 14th letter speak: it deals with a period immediately succeeding conclusion of a treaty of peace between Scindia and the Maharaja of Jeypore.

"Mark the consistency and good faith of this Durbar; in the evening Seendhiya receives an entertainment from an Ambassador, upon the occasion of a peace being concluded; and the very next morning wantonly plunders a miserable little hamlet, for we are still in the Jypoor country, that chances to be in his road; then, to complete the farce, writes letters to Meer Khan (whose troops are playing the same game in the vicinity of Oojyn, Seendhiya's own capital) remonstrating upon the unfriendliness and impropriety of his conduct."

Scindia was not an exceptionally unprincipled ruler of the period, as the following gloss on Jeypore's renderings of his treaty obligations, will show.

"The mode in which the Jypoor Durbar is accustomed to execute such agreements is quite notorious. They pay one half, and agree to pay a quarter, after a certain number of months; and the remainder after another lapse of time. The payment of the second instalment is generally delayed, upon various pretences, for about a year, and for the last, they fight again, and if worsted, enter into another treaty."

Colonel Broughton approves himself in his letters a lover of

greater part should be now governed by Princes whose right to the dignity they enjoy is at least disputable. I have already mentioned the young pretenders to the Rajpoot states of Juodpoor and Jypoor, and the usurpation of Zalim Singh in the province of Kota. The government of the little principality of Bopal has been wrested in the same manner from its legitimate ruler by the Minister, Wazeer Moohumed, and the Nuwab himself excluded from all participation in it. The assumption of supreme power in the Mahratta confederacy by the *Peshwa* has continued so long, that it is now scarcely considered as such. Holkar is a natural son, and having gotten the reins of government into his own hands, has secured them by the murder of his brother and his nephew; both of which events took place very lately, and are universally attributed to him. The right of Seendhiya himself to his rank and station is denied by many, who assert that Raja Desmookh, the grandson of Madoojee Seendhiya, ought to have succeeded before his grand-nephew.

justice and honesty. a man with some faculty of observation, not altogether deficient in sense of humour, though too dignified to indulge in humour, on his own account, far less in exaggerations. His testimony is entitled to respect. It shows the normal conditions of life and morals at a typical Indian Court in the second quarter of this nineteenth century to have been degraded, lost to sense of shame, to a parlous extent;—an extent we should hesitate to credit, had it not been measured by a non-political, and obviously disinterested on-looker, neither in sorrow nor in anger, merely as integral part of the day's work—disgusting, uncongenial work, for deliverance from which he was eager. In July 1829 the Dewan Surjee was murdered, mobbed to death, with the connivance, even if the intent went no further, of his father-in-law, Scindia, who, by the way, always sought to evade or postpone responsibilities of all sorts. The murdered Dewan's mistress—

Was sent for to the *Deorree* on the 29th, and, in the presence of the Bae, severely beaten with a cane, and afterwards, as a greater mark of indignity, received several blows from a slipper; report adds, though I trust unjustly, inflicted by the hands of the indignant Princess herself. The Muha Raj, on his part, threatened her with the loss of her ears and nose, but contented himself with plundering her of a considerable sum in jewels and money, which she had contrived to collect during her short hour of sunshine and prosperity; and then satisfied with this manly vengeance, generously ordered her to be set at liberty. Khueratun, who shared her confinement, has also shared her punishment, and has been plundered of property to the amount of nearly a lakh of rupees. She exclaimed vehemently against the injustice of taking from her what she termed "the honest gains of her profession, amassed during twelve long years of constant practice."

Another brief extract, illustrative of Mahratta Court morals and manners, must be given :—

I went yesterday with the Resident to the Durbar, which was held in a small tent made of *Kus*,* and being kept constantly wet, was exceedingly cool and pleasant. While Captain C—was conversing with Surjee Rao, one of the Muha Raja's favourite companions came into the tent, and stood before him, and his Highness immediately began to amuse himself by making most indecent signs and gestures, and winking at him, whenever he thought himself unperceived.

In Colonel Broughton's letters a deal of curious information is afforded concerning Mahratta habits, customs, festivals, superstitions, folklore, &c.

The only constant fashion in Scindia's Camp was chronic impecuniosity; not dearth, but absolute, lack of money to pay the wages of indispensable soldier-bailiffs and equally indispensable troops of nautch women. This resulted in chronic mutiny, sulking, and frantic attempts to raise the wind by means of I. O. U's. The Maharaja's *hundis* were seldom

* The well-known *Khaskhas*, the roots of a plant *Andropogon muricatus* (Retz.), made into screens or mats which, when wetted, emit a fragrant odour. See *Bernier*, Vol. i., C. O. M., p. 247.

marketable in the Bazar for cash at more than a fifth of their expressed value, and with difficulty found acceptors even at that ruinous discount. Indians, say the apostles of India for the Indians, fared so much better in past time under native rule than they do under English! The Commandant of the Resident's escort, who lived behind the scenes and was not dependent on vain imaginings for his information, wrote to his brother :—

You will be no longer at a loss to conceive the distresses of a government supported by such a system of finance as this ; or that the bankers, by whose means it is entirely conducted, should be the richest and most powerful set of people attached to it. But you will probably be a little at a loss to understand how such a government exists at all. And this is a problem which, I confess, I am totally unable to give any satisfactory solution of ; unless, indeed, we pitch upon force and habit : the former exerted in the lawless and violent contributions levied by this government upon all the neighbouring States without exception ; the other exemplified in a starving army, still clinging round the shadow of a lately powerful State, under whose standard they were formerly led to frequent victory and to constant plunder. Two such rotten props as these, however, must fail sooner or later ; and indeed their insufficiency begins already to be pretty evident. Seendhiya is almost deserted by his Hindoostanee troops, whose reports throughout their own provinces must, in time, operate so as to prevent any but the most needy and desperate adventurers, from seeking such a service ; and, probably, even his Dukhune troops will soon find it more to their advantage to remain quietly upon their own estates, or enter the services of the more fixed governments of the Peshwa and the Bhonsla.

Scindia's Camp never staid long in one place—in the nature of things locusts can't do that. Men, women, children, impedimenta, were kept continually on the move.

A Mahratta line of march exhibits a collection of the most grotesque objects and groups that can possibly be imagined : and at no time is the difference in the treatment of women, between the Mahrattas and other natives of India, more strikingly displayed. Such as can afford it here, ride on horseback, without taking any pains to conceal their faces : they gallop about, and make their way through the throng with as much boldness and perseverance as the men. Among the better sort it is common to see the master of a family riding by the side of his wife and children, all well mounted, and attended by half a dozen horsemen, and two or three female servants, also on horseback : and I have often seen a woman seated astraddle, behind her husband, and keeping her seat with no small degree of grace and dexterity, while he was exercising his horse at a good round gallop. The Mahratta women are, generally speaking, very ugly ; and have a bold look which is to be observed in no other women of Hindoostan.

The steeds in use were for the most part '*tut, hoos.*' Colonel Broughton's transliterative vagaries are startling ; a course of them might be warranted to reconcile the most obstructive of Philistines to the Hunterian system of spelling. The Colonel by the way styles the primitive hackery, a "cabriolet." Good word that.

Constable's Oriental Miscellany of Original and Selected Publications, Vol. III, Aureng-Zebe, a Tragedy, and Book II of the Chase, a Poem. Westminster : Archibald Constable and Company, 14, Parliament Street, S. W., 1892.

IT strikes us that reprints, as a bookmongering fashion, are being somewhat overdone. There is nothing in Dryden's

fustian, unnatural tragedy "Aurung-Zebe" that should render it worth rescuing from its appropriate limbo ; and 20 pages of Somerville's *Chase*, tacked on to Dryden's dreary play, seemingly as an afterthought, can have but archæological interest for the modern sportsman—if they have even that much to recommend them. Here is a sample of the sport depicted :—

Incessant Shouts
Re-echo thro' the Woods, and kindling Fires
Gleam from the Mountain Tops ; the Forest seems
One mingling Blaze : like Flocks of Sheep they fly
Before the flaming Brand : fierce Lions, Pard*,
Boars, Tigers, Bears, and Wolves ; a dreadful Crew
Of grim blood-thirsty foes : growling along,
They stalk indignant ; but fierce Vengeance still
Hangs pealing on their Rear,† and pointed Spears
Present immediate Death.‡

Both works derive plot and incident from adaptations of *Bernier's Travels*. Only, Bernier does not affect high falutin, while both Dryden and Somerville do. As M. Taine puts it, in Dryden's plays everything is extravagant ; with a lavish supply of indecencies thrown in.

The Free Trade Struggle in England. By M. M. TRUMBULL.
Chicago : the Open Court Publishing Company, 1892.

IN a preface to the second edition of his protest against Protection, Mr. Trumbull writes :—

To keep this book abreast of the debate, I have revised it, and have given some additional facts bearing on the lesson to Americans which is given them in the study of the Free Trade Struggle in England. Had the English arguments for Protection been preserved in Mr. Edison's phonograph, the unwinding of the machine would not have more faithfully reproduced than they have been reproduced by the American protectionists in the debates in Congress—excepting this one, "the foreigner pays the tax." In all the debates in Parliament between 1841 and 1846, I cannot find it on record that any member was foolish enough to think that, or daring enough to say it.

Mr. Trumbull's recapitulations may prove interesting to people who prefer the glorification of theory to the teachings of facts.

A Brief History of the Indian Peoples. By SIR WILLIAM WILSON HUNTER, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M. A. Oxon., LL.D. Cambridge. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press, 1892.

A TWENTIETH edition (seventy-eighth thousand) attests the serviceableness of Sir W. W. Hunter's *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, which is, in the slang of the day, up to date, and brings the chronicle of events down to the recent

* *Pard*, a leopard, from the Sanskrit *Pardāku* a tiger, through the Latin *Pardus*.

† *Hangs* . . . *Rear*, follows them up with loud shouts.

‡ *Present Immediate Death*, threaten them with immediate death if they attempt to break through the line that is hemming them in.

expansion of the Indian Legislative Councils ; an admirable school book, lucidly condensed, and containing all things in Indian history necessary to students at examinations ; provocative of thought too, possibly, as in this para. at the end of a chapter treating of the Mughal dynasty.

CAUSES OF ITS FALL.—Akbar had rendered a great Empire possible in India by conciliating the native Hindu races. He thus raised up a powerful third party, consisting of the native military peoples of India, which enabled him alike to prevent new Muhammadan invasions from Central Asia, and to keep in subjection his own Muhammadan Governors of Provinces. Under Aurangzeb and his miserable successors, this wise policy of conciliation was given up. Accordingly, new Muhammadan hordes soon swept down from Afghánistán ; the Muhammadan Governors of Indian Provinces set up as independent potentates : and the warlike Hindu races, who had helped Akbar to create the Mughal Empire, became, under his foolish posterity, the chief agents of its ruin.

Sir William, now, as ever, can skim over delicate ground airily, *e. g.*, in his peroration :—

In 1892 the British Parliament passed an Act which increased the number of the members of those Councils, and introduced a stronger non-official element. But it left the question of the election or the nomination of such members to be worked out by the Local Governments in India, in accordance with the needs and conditions of the separate provinces. Side by side with this political movement, efforts (which to a partial extent have been embodied into legislation by Lord Lansdowne) are being made to reform certain evils in the social and domestic life of the Hindus, arising out of the customs of the enforced celibacy of Hindu widows and the marriage of very young children.

VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Asoka-Charita, or the Life of Asoka. By Krishna Behari Sen.
Printed and published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, 1892.

HISTORY and biography are two branches in which Bengalee literature is still very poor. The habit of looking upon life as a fleeting show, a mere illusion, has been at the root of the indifference which Hindus from olden times have shown to the task of recording events and incidents and the achievements of men, except such of them as in their eyes had a religious significance. This indifference is ingrained in the Hindu national character, and cannot, therefore, be easily eliminated. But if life is an empty dream to the Hindu, it is real and earnest to the Englishman; and English education would have exerted little influence on the literary taste of the Bengalees, if, during its eighty years of life, it had not brought home the importance of biographical and historical literature into their minds so forcibly as to animate some of them with an ambition to remove the poverty of their own literature in this respect. Within the last ten years, a regard and a taste for biography and history have begun to manifest themselves, and well-written lives of great men—both Indian and Foreign—and works on historical topics, have been published in Bengalee.

Asoka was not merely a great Indian King, but one of the greatest monarchs whom the world has ever produced. He occupied the same position in relation to Buddhism as Constantine the Great did with respect to Christianity. Each gave the religion he followed a stimulus, the force of which has not as yet exhausted itself, though many centuries have elapsed since they lived and worked. It is true there are few or no Buddhists among the Bengalee-speaking population; but the story of Asoka's life, which forms one of the most important chapters in the history of Ancient India, must possess an interest for every Indian, to whatever faith or creed he may belong. It is highly gratifying to us to observe that, in Baboo Krishna Behari Sen, M. A., Rector of the Albert College, in Calcutta, Asoka has found a biographer who, without being a believer in the religion which the great monarch of the Mourya Dynasty adopted and made it the great mission of his life to preach and propagate, has the catholicity to rate at their proper worth the noble qualities that distinguished his character, and has genuine sympathy with much of what he believed and taught. The author has not merely brought into a focus the

scattered and divergent rays of light struck out by some distinguished European orientalists from the darkness that enshrouded the period of Indian History when Asoka flourished, but has made them to shine out the more brightly by his own independent and original researches. The work affords unimpeachable testimony of much study and investigation, and some of the chapters bear proofs of thought which materially contributes to the value of the book. The ability shown in clearing up obscure points, with regard to the memorable period with which the book deals, is deserving of special commendation. We deem it, however, desirable to point out that the author's style is not blameless, and that he is guilty, in our eyes, of Anglicisms, or anglicized expressions, which in Bengalee are incalculably more repugnant than Scotticisms in English.

Before we conclude our notice of this able and interesting work, we will briefly comment on two points of interest raised incidentally by the author in the course of his observations on the career of his hero.

Whatever may be the actual practice of the Hindus, the belief that the destruction of the life of the lower animals is a sin had prevailed in India from a remote past. It, however, remained for Buddhism to reduce the doctrine into a religious principle, to be strictly adhered to by all true followers of that religion. Babu Krishna Behari, in discussing the subject, raises the interesting question, why it is that the Indians have shown a more compassionate regard for the life of the lower animals than the English and other civilised races of the West. According to him, it is the Indian's belief in metempsychosis, common both to Hinduism and Buddhism, that has prompted the religious teachers of India to include the killing of dumb creatures in the category of sins. There can be little doubt that this is one of the causes; but the primary and chief reason that led to it is, to our mind, the fact of the Indians, by reason of the climate of the country they inhabit, not having experienced the absolute necessity of a meat-diet. The inhabitants of colder climates found in animal food a means of sustenance exactly suited to their physical requirements, and as man all the world over has been pre-eminently guided by the law of self-preservation, they could, under the circumstances, never have conceived any very high regard for the life of the lower creatures. In India, too, when the early Aryan settlers inhabited the cold regions of the Punjab, flesh-eating was freely indulged in by them, and, naturally enough, during that age no idea of the sanctity of lower life entered their minds. It was when they extended their dominion and peopled every part of North India and found a meat-diet disagreeing with their constitution under the climate of their new settlements, that they

gradually ceased to be flesh-eaters. And when they once found themselves in this predicament, it was nothing extraordinary that they came to look with a feeling of pity upon all beings belonging to the lower orders of creation, for it is almost invariably seen that the better nature of man asserts itself and sometimes with a vengeance, where his lower nature is subdued, either by moral force or the force of circumstances. We entertain not the least doubt that, should the Europeans and other civilised races who now chiefly subsist on animal food, be somehow compelled to eschew it, they would soon begin to entertain the same scruples about the destruction of the life of the lower animals as many Hindus and all Buddhists do.

Niti Padya. By Eshan Chunder Bose. Published by the Author, Bhowanipore.

IS a small book of verses on moral topics, intended for school children. We observe that the publication has already undergone several editions, and that is a good proof of its popularity. As the book has secured a large patronage, we should like to see it rendered more full and complete, by the introduction of pieces on those important moral subjects which have not been touched upon. We would point out that the author has omitted to treat on such subjects as Sense of Duty, Conscience, Gratitude, Friendship, Prudence, Anger, Pride, Vanity, and Ambition.

Prabâser Patra. By Nobin Chunder Sen. Published by Suresh Chunder Samajpati. Calcutta, 1299 B. E.

IS a descriptive account of a tour made in Northern and Western India, and written in the form of letters to the author's wife. There are only a few books of travels in the Bengalee language, not more than half-a-dozen, that are worth reading, and we can unhesitatingly pronounce the book under notice sufficiently interesting to occupy a place among them. Baboo Nobin Chunder, the author, is one of the best Bengalee poets of the day, and his *Prabâser Patra*, which is, of course, written in prose, bears evidence of his natural poetic turn of mind. An ordinary book of travels is a description of scenery, of peoples and their manners and customs, and a narrative of incidents, but Mr. Sen's production is something more than this: it is also a record of the impressions made upon his heart by all he saw and heard, written in a style which is often poetic to a high degree. Occasionally, Mr. Sen ignores the first duty of a traveller recording his experiences, which is to describe the places he visits, as he does in the case of two such famous towns as Darjeeling and Baidyanath. The book concludes with a comparison of the personal attractions of the

women of the several Indian races with whom the author came in contact ; and as, in a matter like this, a poet's judgment is not without its value, though infrequently endorsed by the prosaic majority, it is interesting to know that he gives the palm of superiority to the Pahari women of the Simla Hills.

Prabâser Patra, is, in its own way, a highly interesting production, in which the entertaining prose of a traveller's story is sweetly blended with the enlivening poetry of the out-pourings of a feeling heart and the flights of a fervid imagination.

Chânakya Niti, or the Moral Aphorisms of Chânakya. Intended for the use of Boys and Girls. By Eshan Chunder Bose, Calcutta. Printed at the Adi Brahma Samaj Press.

AS an historical character, Chânakya was a great master of finesse and artifice, and has, therefore, been usually styled the Machiavelli of India. But his celebrated and excellent work upon morals does not take after the Machiavellian artifices by which he is credited to have brought on the downfall of the Nanda Dynasty, and the elevation of Chandra Gupta to their throne. Chânakya is believed to have flourished in the third century before Christ, and it would be surprising to many Europeans to see germs of such high ethical principles in his precepts as are contained in some of the teachings of Jesus Christ. The great recommendations of Chânakya's precepts are that they generally inculcate a morality of a lofty and pure type, and are put in the form of pithy aphorisms in a style of peculiar simplicity and charm. But, composed as they were more than twenty centuries ago, they could not all be suited to the taste and tendencies of the modern times. The compiler has generally shown discrimination in his selections, with the exception of a few. For example, the *sloka* containing the fatalistic assertion, "*Na cha daivât param valam*," meaning, "The greatest power which man can have is derived from fate," is one which ought to be expurgated. Again, there are several *slokas* which contain allusions to Hindu denominational religious beliefs. In these days of religious liberty and consequent increasing divergences with regard to religious questions, a book of moral aphorisms would have a chance of being more widely popular, if freed from the dross of dogmas.

Sachitra Varna Parichaya. By Professor Ramânanda Chatterjea, M. A. Printed by K. C. Dutt, at the B. M. Press, 211, Cornwallis Street. Calcutta, 1892.

IS an attractively illustrated Bengalee Primer. Books for infants should be full of attractive illustrations to make reading as little of a task, and as much of an entertainment

to them, as possible. Of all books, the Primer should be adorned with pictures, to be readily appreciated by those for whom it is intended. The late Pundit Eswara Chunder Vidyasagara's Bengalee Primer still stands unrivalled in its adaptability to the tender capacities of infant learners, and it is no small recommendation of the Primer under notice, that in this respect, it makes a near approach to the renowned Pundit's *Varna Parichaya*, *Prathama Bhâga*, and has the additional attraction of being embellished with beautiful illustrations.

There is an anomaly in the book which requires to be pointed out. The pictures of some of the boys and girls who bear Bengalee names in the stories, are represented in English dress, in which they look extremely outlandish. The author, it seems, has a partiality for European juvenile attire, and is, perhaps, anxious to see it adopted in Bengal; but he need hardly be told that a Primer is not a proper vehicle for the dissemination of ideas about dress reform.

Raghu Vansa of Kali Das, in Bengalee verse, Part I. (Canto I to VIII). By Nobin Chunder Das, M. A. Published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta, 1891.

THE translations of the poetical masterpieces of great poets into the prose of other languages than those in which they are composed, generally prove more literal than their metrical renderings, but it is the latter that have usually the better chance of being widely appreciated, if the translators are equal to their task. *Raghu Vansa* is one of the best poems of Kali Das, the greatest Sanskrit poet, and the Bengalee reading public should be thankful to Baboo Nobin Chunder Das for undertaking a translation of the poem in Bengalee verse. The first part of the translation under notice contains eight cantos. We have compared parts of the translation with their original in Sanskrit, and are glad to notice that the translator has succeeded in generally preserving the high poetry of the original, while the sweet melody and easy flow of his verses cannot but make the version liked by a large circle of appreciative readers.

Ananda Lila. By Indu Bhusen Roy. Published by the Dâsâsram, or the Home for the Servants of God. Calcutta, 1892.

A FEW educated Bengalee gentlemen, fired evidently by the ardent spirit of humanity which characterises the Salvation Army, have founded an institution in Calcutta, with the object of training up a number of young men, who may devote their lives to relieving the sufferings of the sick, the

incapable, and the destitute, without distinction of race or creed. The institution has been named Dâsâsram, or the Home for the Servants of God, and it has already produced a few noble servants who are engaged in nursing men, women, and children who have none to call their own, and who have mostly been picked up from the streets of Calcutta in a state of destitution, or in a moribund condition. The publication under notice, which contains a number of original religious songs, has been published by this institution—the first of its kind in Bengal. The songs are all theistic in spirit, and some of them are in every way calculated to inspire love of God and a longing to serve Him by serving humanity. It may be hoped that these songs may eventually grow popular, and silently mould the hearts of many after the ethical and spiritual ideal they set up.

Panchâmrita. By Tara Kumar Kabiratna. Published by Jnân Chunder Chowdhery. Printed by J. N. Banerjea and Son. Calcutta, 1892.

PUNDIT Tara Kumar is a good hand at metrical composition, and his renderings of the five Sanskrit religious poems contained in this book are worthy of him. We cannot, however, commend some of the selections in the book, as they represent the cultivation exclusively either of asceticism or of the spirit of love and worship, and not a harmonious growth and development of Love, Intellect and Spirituality, as the highest ideal of life-work. The Pundit's verses are generally so simple and sweet, and so highly calculated to have a persuasive influence on the common mind, that we should like to see him aiming at popularising among the Bengalee masses, by his metrical translations, the best teachings of the Hindu Shastras, on social and moral subjects, teachings that are consistent with reason and the spirit of enlightened thought and progressive science.

Janma bhumi. A Monthly Journal. Volumes I and II.

THIS magazine is the chief monthly organ of the Hindu Revivalists. It is the cheapest Bengalee periodical in existence, the price being only seven pice per copy. Both its cheapness and its policy, which is antagonistic to all social and religious reformation, are calculated to recommend the magazine to the Bengalee masses, and there is no reason to doubt the statement that it has several thousand subscribers. It is chiefly distinguished for its bigotry and morbid conservatism, which would see no good out of the pale of Hinduism, and nothing worthy of attention in what is opposed to, or inconsistent with, the spirit of the Hindu Shastras. Some of the Bengalee magazines are in the habit

of publishing translations from English books or periodicals, and occasionally, without acknowledging their authorship. A paper headed *Amulya Nidhi*, published in the fifth number of the first volume of the *Janma bhumī*, and professedly written by Thakur Das Mukherjea, seems, however, to be a translation of the sum and substance of that popular booklet, entitled "The Greatest Thing in the World," which is from the pen of Dr. Henry Drummond, the author of the remarkable work, "Natural Law in the Spiritual World." The *Janma bhumī* is very poor in its department of poetry. The papers written to elucidate questions of Hindu sociology and religion generally show research, but are often tarnished with prejudiced notions and re-actionary tendencies. The serial auto-biographical sketch, entitled *Amār Jiban Charita*, must be pronounced the chief attraction of the Magazine. It is a narrative of the life and adventures of a Bengalee gentleman during the dark, troublous, and, as it proved to some, romantic days of the Indian Mutiny. For more than one reason this sketch deserves a translation into English.

Sahitya. A Monthly Magazine and Review. Edited by Suresh Chunder Samajpati. Third volume, Nos. 5, 6 and 7 1299, B. E.

THIS Bengalee Magazine has already taken its place among high class vernacular periodicals. The editor is a grandson of the late Pundit Eshwara Chunder Vidyasagar, who may justly be styled the Father of Modern Bengalee prose literature; and he is most laudably eager to tread in the footsteps of his illustrious grandfather. We observe that among the contributors to this magazine there are many graduates of the Calcutta University. The comparative poorness of Bengalee literature is mainly attributable to the fact that most of the educated native intellects are found to cherish a repugnance for, and abstain from cultivating, their mother tongue. It is, we believe, the aim of the editor to secure the most distinguished alumni of the Calcutta University as his contributors, and it is a pleasure to see that he has already met with considerable success in this direction, some of the most thoughtful and learned articles that have hitherto appeared in the pages of the *Sahitya*, and which remind us of some of the brilliant contributions in the pages of the now defunct *Banga Darshan*, having been from the pens of those who have had a distinguished academic career. The *Sahitya* is most ably edited, and well got up, and we hope it will command extensive patronage and have a long lease of life.

Note.—In our notice of the brochure entitled "*Amdder Jatia Bhava*" by Baboo Rajani Kant Gupta, published in our number for last October, we showed, by quotations from it and from Baboo Raj Narain Bose's work, styled "*Hindu Dharmer Shresthata*," that in the former there were passages which were clearly plagiarised from the latter. Baboo Rajani Kant writes to us expressing surprise at the charge we felt ourselves justified in bringing against him, and denying it on the grounds that though he had read Baboo Raj Narain's "*Hindu Dharmer Shresthata*" fifteen years ago, he had not the book before him when he wrote his pamphlet, and that it was the unanimity of sentiment between himself and Babu Raj Narain that gave his observations the appearance of being plagiarisms from the latter's work. Our charge against Babu Rajani Kant was founded not so much on the unanimity of sentiment, as on the striking identity of language between the passages quoted, and, though we accept his explanation, we must say that we cannot persuade ourselves to believe that such sameness of expression could have occurred, unless it were that the passages in Baboo Raj Narain Bose's work had so firmly fixed themselves in Baboo Rajani Kant's memory, that the latter was unconsciously led to use the language of the former in giving expression to similar sentiments of his own.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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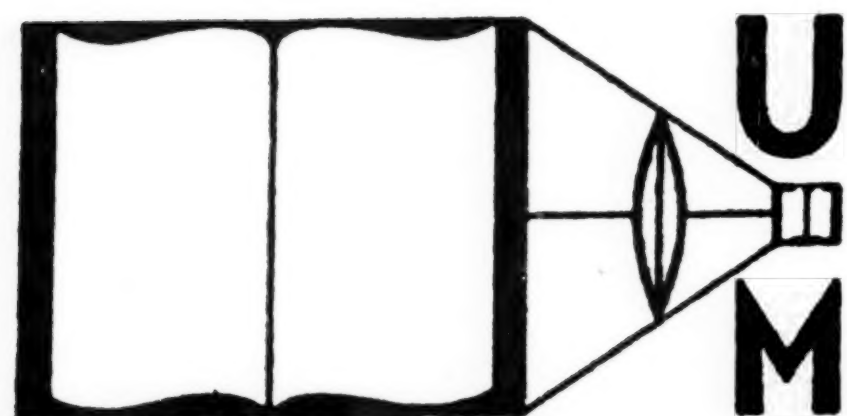
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